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The Shape of Things

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WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN EUROPE? THAT IS the question that is asked a million times a day not only by the people who will have to die first when the fatal turn is taken, and by the happier inhabitants of other continents who feel that a European catastrophe will not leave their lives unchanged, but by the "informed" statesmen, diplomats, journalists. They ask each other, and for answer they shrug their shoulders. To be sure there are guesses. The pessimists, who hear the bombs already exploding, believe that Hitler must fight now, that he cannot much longer keep the German nation in a state of tension and mobilization, that his enemies become stronger every day. The adherents of the delay theory show more imagination. They point to the fear of the consequences of war felt by the ruling classes; to the fact that the anti-war feeling of the people can be used to add prestige to even the most ferocious believer in war, should he keep the peace; they point to the many minor controversial issues from Danzig to Djibouti the diplomatic settlement of which would still allow the politicians to perform in the limelight before the curtain while the militarists behind set the stage for the real performance later on. The optimists, on the other hand, argue that modern war, in which the property to be protected and to be won would be destroyed by airplanes, would not make sense even to the most cold-hearted imperialist. But all these theorists agree on one point: that two war fronts are becoming clearer every day—the axis and the new triple alliance. Whether or not the pacts under discussion are signed and agreed upon to the last comma does not matter much any more. The realities push ahead. The armies have taken positions. Europe is once again on the verge of committing suicide. Fear and inhibitions may still hold the leaders back. That would mean a new phase of conferences, this time with armies ready on both sides.

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TWO DECREES ISSUED BY GENERAL FRANCO just before his victory parade did more than the steady rain to dampen his long-awaited victory demonstration. The first established food rationing throughout the whole of Spain, while the second subjected all males between

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the ages of eighteen and fifty to obligatory labor service during the reconstruction period. Broadcasting on the eve of the celebration, Franco admitted the economic difficulties facing his government, but sought to offset the handicaps suffered as a result of his axis ties by a bid for economic support from the democracies. In this plan he appears to have the full support of his axis allies. Helmuth Wohlthat, Göring's right-hand man, has conveniently postponed his scheduled trip to Spain to negotiate a trade treaty until Paul von Zeeland, former Premier of Belgium, can visit Franco to discuss a projected $100,000,000 Dutch-Belgian-French loan which is to be offered on condition that Spain remain neutral in the next war. Since a loan to Franco is in effect a subsidy for Hitler and Mussolini, there is likely to be little objection to the plan in Berlin or Rome. The question of military aid in the next war need not be decided now, at least not in public.

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JAPAN SUFFERED ITS FIRST REAL CHECK AT the hands of the Western powers when a landing party from British, French, and American naval vessels stopped a small detachment of Japanese which had entered the foreign settlement at Amoy, South China. The incident was immediately followed by a spectacular military display by the same powers in the International Settlement and the French Concession at Shanghai. Both Britain and the United States have bluntly rejected Japan's demand for greater representation on the Shanghai Municipal Council, the governing body of the International Settlement. But to avoid giving Japan a pretext for intervention, Settlement police rounded up all persons suspected of participating in terroristic activities either for or against the Japanese. They also canceled the registration of four Chinese-language newspapers noted for their pro-Chinese sympathies, but it is asserted that the ban is a temporary one. The strong stand taken by the Western powers in opposition to the Japanese demands has had the effect of driving the yen to an unprecedented low of 89 cents in terms of the Chinese dollar. This not only has greatly handicapped Japan's efforts to substitute its currency for the Chinese dollar in the occupied areas but is making more difficult the purchase abroad of needed war supplies. The growing stringency in Japan's foreign-exchange situation is attested by the recent order for a census of all privately owned gold. Any intensification of economic pressure, either in the form of boycott or embargo, might now prove decisive in checking Japanese terrorism in China.

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HEARINGS ON THE WAGNER PUBLIC-HEALTH bill are beginning this week in Washington. The American Medical Association gave them advance publicity in its convention at St. Louis last week when it announced twenty-two reasons why the bill should not be passed and urged all members of the association to fight it. The A. M. A. put on record once more its thesis that the state of public health in the United States is all that it should be; it dismissed the data collected by the WPA which shows that some 40,000,000 people are unable to afford adequate medical care, substituting the ridiculous figure of 40,000. It also defeated a move to admit a woman physician as a member of the association's governing council and a resolution to admit Negroes as members. These actions are all of a piece and confirm the A. M. A.'s standing as one of the most reactionary ostriches in the country. The association will undoubtedly present the most formidable opposition of any group to the Wagner bill; it has the funds and the determination. For that reason it is very important that the whole sordid record of the A. M. A. should be thoroughly aired. It must not be permitted to pose as a disinterested witness.

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JEROME FRANK'S SELECTION AS CHAIRMAN of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the confirmation of Leon Henderson's appointment to the vacancy created when Justice Douglas went to the Supreme Court should be good news to all liberals. More men of the Frank-Henderson type are needed on a commission launched under the direction of the market speculator, Joseph P. Kennedy. Mr. Frank is brilliant, able, and intensely earnest in his belief that the profit system can be made to work under controls devised to protect the public from capitalistic exploitation. His administration of the commission will be followed with intense interest by economists as well as by Wall Street and the investing public.

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THE FEDERAL ARTS PROJECTS HAVE BECOME the focal point for the continuing attack on the standards and methods of relief symbolized by WPA. The reason is easy to discover. Nobody loves the artist. Ridiculing him or condescending to him is an old American pastime. Let any politician point to an artist drawing government money with which to draw pictures and the stage is set for loud laughs—it is even funnier than the one about WPA workers leaning on shovels; by implication the whole conception of WPA is discredited. One of the most persistent proposals of the reformers is to turn the administration of relief back to local agencies. This would mean a deathblow to the arts projects, because they would be the first sacrifice of local administrators and because such projects, unless organized on a nation-wide basis under expert supervision, would quickly degenerate. It is important to mobilize support for the arts projects, which, if the politicians only knew it, have created great values even in simple material terms—quite aside from their achievements in making use of our cultural resources, including talented workers in many fields,

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which far outweigh the residue of mistakes and waste to be found in any such undertaking. The arts projects deserve to be defended. A conference for that purpose is to be held at the New School for Social Research in New York City on June 3; 210 members of the Harvard faculty have signed a "Petition of American Teachers in Defense of the Federal Arts Projects"; letters to Congress would not be amiss.

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WITH THE SUICIDE OF ERNST TOLLER, ONE of the most militant of the German exiles in America, a ghastly fate overtook another victim. There is rejoicing in Nazi Berlin. Whatever the immediate reasons for his act, which stands in contradiction to the fighting spirit that survived years in prison, the deeper tragedy is all too obvious. One has only to consider the inner strain under which the political exile, looking at reality, must live. In the last years Ernst Toller took an untiring part in the struggle of the Spanish people and was deeply depressed by the democracies' betrayal of their republic. It was for him the third great defeat of the idealism and enthusiasm which drove him as a young soldier into the German revolution and, after he had served a long prison term for it, into the fight against Nazism. Ernst Toller endured more than many even attempt to face.

Dies in a New Role

THE NATION published an editorial in its issue of December 24 called Wall Street's Fascist Wing, in which it commented on the increasing attention being paid to our budding fascists by respectable big-business elements. It pointed to the professional patriots and Bund members on the guest list of the luncheon given for Martin Dies by the New York State Economic Council, headed by the Franco sympathizer and spokesman, Merwin K. Hart. *The Nation* also cited the anti-Semitic and incendiary address made by Major General George Van Horn Moseley before similar business elements a few days later at the sixty-sixth annual meeting of the New York Board of Trade. In January the Institute for Propaganda Analysis published a bulletin revealing that a certain George Deatherage, guest and speaker at the international anti-Semitic conference held under Nazi auspices at Erfurt, Germany, last year, was organizing a confederation of American fascist groups and had asked Mosely to lead it. This is the "plot" which the Dies committee "brought to light" last week and on which witnesses are being heard as we go to press.

Under ordinary circumstances it would occasion no surprise that a committee set up to investigate "un-American" activities should probe into a fascist network. "Un-American" is a much abused word, but there is no doubt that it applies to the Nazi doctrine that all men are not born free and equal, and that the consent of the governed is of no consequence to those who do the governing. But the amazement and suspicion that have greeted the Dies committee "revelations" eloquently attest its past activities. Its chief work has been to knife the New Deal in the 1938 elections, notably in Michigan, and to assail most of our outstanding progressive institutions and leaders as "reds," including many who happen to be anti-Communist themselves. The Dies committee, in other words, has itself been the chief manipulator of a familiar fascist technique. It had an investigator probing Nazi activities, but it consented to hear him only after some nasty rumors began to seep into the press. The investigator presented a series of exhibits for publication in the record of the hearings. The exhibits have not been printed. We can hardly be blamed if we look this anti-fascist gift-horse in the mouth.

If Congressman Dies really wants to investigate fascist and anti-Semitic movements, more power to him. But it would be naive to think that the ranting anti-New Deal Texan is suddenly overcome with a desire to defend democracy. It is well to remember that fascism is highly unpopular in the United States, and that even the fascists must at times speak the language of anti-fascism. Dies has been under pressure from the Administration. He is in such bad odor that the doors of the most reactionary producers in the movie industry were slammed on him when he recently visited Hollywood. His new "research director," J. B. Matthews, as an ex-radical is more expert than the intellectually bankrupt professional patriots. Dies is trying hard to convince the not very tough-minded Jerry Voorhis, the one liberal on the new Dies committee, that he is really against fascism as well as communism. Perhaps some of those behind Dies would like to demonstrate that there is no need for the La Follette committee, which is still waiting for an appropriation. Perhaps an inquiry into anti-Semitic crackpot organizations would serve to divert public attention from more serious menaces, such as the Associated Farmers on the Pacific Coast. If Representative Dies really wants to investigate Moseley, he may have easy access to the General. In Part 3 of the La Follette committee hearings, he will find the testimony of L. A. Stringham, eastern representative of the National Metal Trades Association, a notorious labor-spy and strike-breaking agency. He will find that Stringham named Rhea W. Whitley as one of the Federal Bureau of Investigation agents who cooperated with the National Metal Trades. He will also find a letter from Whitley to Stringham thanking the latter for his "cooperation." Now Mr. Whitley has succeeded the odoriferous Edward F. Sullivan as chief investigator of the Dies committee. And Mr. Whitley's old friend, Stringham, may be able to give him further cooperation. In Part 4 of the La Follette hearings, page 1386, Dies

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will find Stringham's desk-pad list of numbers frequently called, including the chief clients of his "labor" service. One of the notations is "Moseley—Great Northern Hotel. . . . Circle 7-1900." This hint may be helpful to Representative Dies.

No Peace for Palestine

THE latest British White Paper on Palestine confirms, in cold print, the sacrifice to imperial interest of a solemn obligation. The project of converting the ancient Jewish homeland into a state where two peoples—the existing Arab population and the returning Jews—should live on a basis of absolute equality called for great statesmanship and an unselfish purpose. The mandate over Palestine, in the view of civilized humanity, was to be an "effort to right the wrong of centuries." Lord Balfour and other British statesmen, recognizing the trend of public opinion in Britain and the world, delivered virtuous pronouncements about this unique opportunity to transcend narrow imperialist interests.

But the clique in Britain which determines imperial policy could not rise above selfish considerations. Hardly had the Balfour Declaration been issued, and the imperial benefits reaped, when the process of deflation was begun. Relegated to the Colonial Office, Palestine became just another colony for exploitation. Not men of ideals but autocratic colonial officials from India and Africa were sent to administer it. The Balfour Declaration to them was just another of the many promises to native chiefs, made to be broken; the mandate was a clever ruse for denying self-government to the natives; the National Home was an excuse for perpetuating lucrative sinecures. Very little of the $275,000,000 collected in revenue went to improving the country. Not a single one of the promised schemes of development to increase its economic capacity for absorption materialized. The miserable Arab peasantry was left to rot in its poverty and filth; a deaf ear was turned to appeals for progressive labor legislation, which would have done much to eliminate interracial strife.

The minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission are filled with reminders that the mandate was never faithfully executed. As early as 1924 the High Commissioner for Palestine had to acknowledge "that it had not been possible to do very much work" to execute the obligation of facilitating close settlement. "Generally speaking, the settlement of Jews on the land was the result of action taken by the Jews themselves and not the result of action of the government." When reminded that the question was "not what the Jews were doing, but what the government was doing," the High Commissioner had no adequate reply.

No more than the proverbial leopard could British imperialism change its spots. Instead of trying to bring the two peoples together, the government followed the hoary policy of divide and rule. Torrents of blood have flowed in Palestine since Britain assumed the mandate; much of the violence can be traced directly to British mismanagement and negligence and to the famous "Miracles" Department in the Colonial Office. Riots costing hundreds of human lives took place in 1920, 1921, 1929, 1933, 1935, and now again in 1939. Nor were the intervening years free from bloodshed. When the Director of Education was asked by a Royal Commission whether the government schools were "doing all they could to bring about . . . better understanding" between Jews and Arabs, he had to reply, "Perhaps not; perhaps more might be done." The Director of Education knew very well that, far from bringing the two peoples together, his schools were widening the gulf between them.

This twenty-year record of sabotage and betrayal is now topped by a "Black" Paper which sets aside, with no more regard for the sanctity of international obligations than is shown by Hitler or Mussolini, the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. Long forced by world opinion to be content with sabotaging the mandate, the Colonial Office now feels itself strong enough to tear it up. It aims to capture two Arab birds with one shot at the Zionists. Freezing the Jews into a minority will give Britain a permanent position in Palestine, the Clapham Junction of the empire; an Arab-controlled Palestine will enable Britain to unify the Near East into a bulwark of empire and to tie the Arabs to the imperial chariot. The promise of 75,000 Jewish immigrants during the next five years—if economic conditions permit!—is no more than a sop to the world's conscience.

It is evident that Britain is not in the least concerned with the plight of Palestine's residents, Jewish or Arab. The fundamental difference between the partition plan and the present complete repudiation of the Balfour Declaration must be explained in terms of imperial strategy. Britain has made a determined bid for the support of the Arab and Mohammedan world in the coming war. It knows that the Jews in any case cannot support the axis. These tactics may serve Britain's immediate interests. But they have set back the possibility of peace in the Holy Land for many years. The Jews have already outlined a long-range program of passive resistance which, if carried into effect, will greatly intensify existing friction and hatred. The Black Paper represents a logical extension of Chamberlain's appeasement policies to the Palestinian crisis. But Munich has not brought and could not bring peace to Europe. Nor can capitulation to Arab demands provide a basis for settlement in the Near East. Such a basis can only be provided by a program which guarantees the basic rights of both Arabs and Jews.

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"Red Totalitarianism"

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT'S HARD, these days, to distinguish words from acts and ideas from political maneuvers. This difficulty can be carried to extremes of suspicion and subtle exegesis, as our contributor George Kaufman hinted in his recent dissertation on the Presidential "Good Morning." But I hope I am not succumbing to an attack of morbid distrust when I question the purposes of the manifesto issued the other day by a group headed by John Dewey and published on page 626 of this issue of *The Nation*. It is an eloquent statement. It says that intellectual freedom is good, that totalitarian repression is bad, and it calls for the formation of a Committee for Cultural Freedom in America. On the surface this looks like an innocent "Good Morning" from a group of honest intellectuals.

I believe the group to be honest but not innocent. I have no doubt that they really want to defend intellectual freedom, but I think they also intended to drop a bomb into the ranks of the liberal and left groups in the United States. Several other committees, already in existence, are also dedicated to the cause of a free culture. The only distinction, and therefore the only important feature of the present manifesto, is its emphasis on Russian totalitarianism. And this emphasis reveals the special purpose of the new committee, which is obviously to separate the sheep from the goats; to show up those who, in the words of the statement itself, "exalt one brand of intellectual servitude over another" and "make fine distinctions between various methods of humiliating the human spirit and outlawing intellectual integrity"; and to create a clear division on the left by relegating members of the Communist Party and the vague ranks of its sympathizers to outer totalitarian darkness.

Now that is an arguable position, but it lies in the field of political strategy and should be debated in those terms. We need, if we are to achieve the clarification the Deweyites persumably seek, some such direct statement as Sidney Hook made in his article on The Anatomy of the Popular Front in the current *Partisan Review*. After developing his point that "the socialist solution . . . is the only solution possible for all producers and consumers," Mr. Hook says that this requires "opposition to every step towards fascism . . . and the clearest differentiation from Stalinism together with its fronts, stooges, and innocents." That puts the proposition plainly. I should have more liking for the Dewey group, for whom Mr. Hook is the active spokesman, if they were willing to make their appeal openly on this ground and fight it out there.

This is a real issue, and I am not going to charge red-baiting to those who feel as Mr. Hook does. The Communist Party is a nuisance or a menace to all its opponents. Whatever its line may be, its tactics are invariably provocative and often destructive. Not only do Communists try to inject partisan ideas into the program of most organizations in which they are active; not only do they fight ruthlessly and tenaciously to make those ideas prevail; they also have been guilty, in many known instances, of using against their enemies methods of attack that were both unscrupulous and callous. Their verbal technique is evident in the pages of the party press; vituperation and downright slander have been weapons frequently employed, whether against the "social fascists" of yesteryear or the "Trotskyists" of today. The result has been to create a fund of bitterness on the left which can be drawn upon whenever a convenient occasion arises.

It can be drawn upon, but it should not be. To advocate a policy of "clearest differentiation" on the left is a counsel of disruption. With all their faults the Communists perform necessary functions in the confused struggle of our time. They have helped to build up and to run a string of organizations—known as "fronts" by their opponents—which clearly serve the cause not of "totalitarian doctrine" but of a more workable democracy. And the value of those organizations lies largely in the energy and discipline and zeal of their Communist elements.

Some of their more bitter opponents scoff at the new democratic faith, as well as the democratic works, of these erstwhile revolutionists. Suspicion is natural and may be well founded. I have not the space here to debate the question. But I am inclined to believe that the Communists have developed a sort of double mental bookkeeping by means of which they are able to account jointly for their love of Stalin and their adherence to the New Deal. At any rate, the effect of their conversion, sincere or strategical, is to postpone serious revolutionary objectives to some post-next-war millennium and to leave them free meanwhile for democratic endeavor in this world. A sour note in the new harmony is the reluctance of some of the objects of their allegiance to accept them as followers, but they persevere none the less. In fact, in the name of the fight against fascism, they have committed themselves to an almost uncritical acceptance of the status quo; and their most radical recent pronouncement was in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt. In all seriousness, the Communists in their present phase seem to me to share the larger hopes and fears that animate most other people who stand to the left of center, including many of the founders of the Committee for Cultural Freedom. Add to this the fact that they oppose with obvious sincerity all forms of racial discrimination, and the total score is one that forces me to question

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the whole premise on which the Dewey statement is based.

Instead of signing any such document, I should like to plead for an era of good-will and decency. The task of recreating unity and hope and strengthening the organs of democracy is not to be accomplished by insisting upon differences and crystallizing them in manifestos and committees. While moral rearmament engrosses the right, a little factional disarmament might well be tried on the left. There is virtue in merely refusing to shoot.

From Pump-Priming to Pumping

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, May 22

WHETHER the New Deal will go down in history as Roosevelt's revolution or merely as a milestone on the rocky road to someone else's revolution will depend in large measure on the success or failure of the educational project started last week by the Temporary National Economic Committee. Composed of Administration officials and Senators (in that order of importance), the committee has undertaken the difficult task of teaching the nation the lessons to be learned from the boom-depression-partial-recovery cycle of the last twenty years. The answers are well known to the more alert economists and to a few liberal politicians. But most business leaders have resolutely closed their minds to the conclusions inevitably suggested by a study of the facts. To convince the public, that is, the voters, that two and two make four in economics as well as in pure mathematics is the job undertaken by the committee.

Dr. Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard got the TNEC off to an auspicious start. In a brilliant synthesis of the country's recent economic history, present condition, and future expectation, he clearly pointed out the direction to be followed if disaster is to be avoided. But because his testimony, delivered with impersonal assurance from under a green eyeshade, was devoid of controversial clichés, it received little consideration in the daily press. In most newspapers it was buried under President Roosevelt's matter-of-fact letter asking the committee to look for ways of bringing idle men and idle capital together, but Hansen's testimony was much more important than the letter. It stated with brilliant lucidity the conclusions to which most liberals, in and out of the Administration, have come.

Hansen said, in effect: "Pump-priming is all right as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. Having primed the pump and started a reasonably steady flow of goods and services, government must take a hand at the pump handle. Large-scale government spending must become a permanent, not just a transitional, policy."

He built his conclusion on the generally accepted hypothesis that there can be no prosperity for a capitalistic economy unless savings can find outlets in a constantly expanding productive plant. With population no longer growing at the old rate, with the physical frontiers gone, and with no new industries comparable to the automobile industry in the offing, these outlets are contracting. This creates unemployment in the capital-goods industries and slows up the entire economic machine. The resulting distress is "an economic phenomenon which cannot be explained in terms of the ordinary business-cycle analysis." Rather it is "a chronic maladjustment" which private initiative by itself cannot cure. The government must come to the rescue.

It must: (1) encourage and if necessary finance development of new products and industries; (2) finance purchase of new equipment by the railroads on a self-liquidating basis; (3) reduce the interest rate on FHA guaranteed housing loans; and (4) reform the tax structure to tap savings rather than reduce purchasing power. In other ways, too, private investment must be supplemented by public investment "on a considerable scale." Hansen suggested construction of hospitals, highways, sewer systems, rural-electrification networks, express highways, bridges, and various other projects, self-liquidating or not. As for the federal budget, he blamed "an obsolete system of public accounting" for the current alarm about its unbalance. The budget should not be considered out of balance, he said, if income from taxes is sufficient to pay the carrying charges on the public debt.

Hansen's statements of economic fact were fully supported by the testimony of Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, Edward Stettinius of United States Steel, Owen D. Young of General Electric, and Frederick B. Rentchler of United Aircraft. These men proudly announced that their companies were self-financing and probably would continue to be. There would be no room for new capital in their concerns. But their thinking obviously was "dominated by frozen patterns of the past, into which people try to mold the facts of the present." In an interview outside the hearing room, which took headline precedence over his testimony, Sloan went through the usual rigmarole about lack of business confidence

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because of the undistributed-profits tax and the unbalanced budget.

To expose the fallacies of Sloan's thinking and demonstrate the validity of Hansen's was precisely the objective of William Douglas, Jerome Frank, Leon Henderson, Isador Lubin, and the other New Dealers who planned the investigation of savings and invesment by the TNEC. The hearings can help, but they can't do it by themselves. President Roosevelt so far has not gone to bat publicly for permanent government spending. He has been content to rest the case for New Deal outlays on a plea of emergency. Once the emergency was passed and the national income raised to a satisfactory level, private initiative would carry on unassisted. He has never admitted the possibility that this might not happen. Eventually he or someone else will have to look that possibility in the eye and accept government responsibility for investment and employment as a political issue.

It will not be an easily popularized issue. While Hansen carefully avoided political terminology, the political implications of his testimony were inescapable. His recommendations would carry the United States into a sort of state capitalism, which, if democracy retained its vigor, would become a variety of state socialism. With these tags attached to the spending policy, it might not find a ready market with the voters unless they have moved over to the left since the last election. There is a growing belief in Congress that they have. Spending, by whatever name, is rapidly gaining favor despite the yowls from the leaders of the economy bloc.

Already revival of spending sentiment has added $383,000,000 to the Agricultural Appropriation bill and $50,000,000 to the non-military section of the Army Appropriation bill. It now appears probable that another big public-works appropriation will be made before Congress adjourns. The only question is whether the Administration will apologize for these unbudgeted outlays in the name of sweet emergency or frankly adopt the Hansen ideology and thus take the logical next step toward a new New Deal.

The Vulnerable Baltic

BY HENRY C. WOLFE

IN OBSERVING the attempt to build a stop-Hitler wall in Eastern Europe, we have focused nearly all our attention on Poland, Rumania, and Turkey. Yet it would be a serious mistake to assume that once the safety of the Poles and Rumanians is guaranteed against Nazi aggression, the peace of Europe is assured. It is about a thousand miles from the Polish-Latvian border to the northern tip of Finland. Unless Latvia, Estonia, and Finland receive similar guaranties from the "peace front," a vulnerable area will be left in the eastern anti-axis wall. Hitler could breach that wall at his leisure. Indeed, the failure of Britain and France to guarantee the independence of the Baltic nations would in itself be a virtual invitation to the Nazis to strike in that quarter.

When the Germans occupied Memel last March, they took a long stride northeastward in the direction of the Gulf of Finland—and Leningrad. For now only a corridor about a dozen miles wide separates the frontier of Greater Germany from the border of Latvia. It is a narrow salient that could easily be pinched off at the Reich's convenience. Thus German occupation of Memel is a step along the ancient path of conquest followed by the Teutonic Knights—now a Nazi path of empire. It adds enormously to the strategic importance of Latvia and Estonia.

For reasons of their own the British have not made any move to strengthen the Latvian-Estonian area in the eastern wall. Instead, they have concentrated their efforts on winning the adherence of the Soviet Union to their "peace front." But the Soviets, realizing the implications of neglecting the Baltic states, have refused to enter a pact that does not take the Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, and Finns into the security system. In this attitude Moscow has been entirely logical. In fact, any other policy would be extremely dangerous. For without the inclusion of these Baltic states in the anti-aggression pacts, the stop-Hitler movement in the east is incomplete.

But quite aside from their strategic value Latvia and Estonia are worth saving in their own right. They are sturdy little republics which have gone along quietly with their efforts to carry out land reform and raise the standard of living. Born in the war-time chaos of 1918, both countries began their national existence under severe handicaps. Long after fighting on the western front had ceased, Latvia and Estonia were harried by German freebooting armies. Moreover, having been for more than two centuries under Russian rule, the people had had little opportunity to acquire administrative experience. Czarist officials and German landowners alike had striven to keep them in a state close to serfdom. The post-war governments, therefore, started from scratch.

One of the first problems tackled by both Letts and Estonians was the agrarian question. During the period of Czarist rule the so-called Baltic barons, descendants

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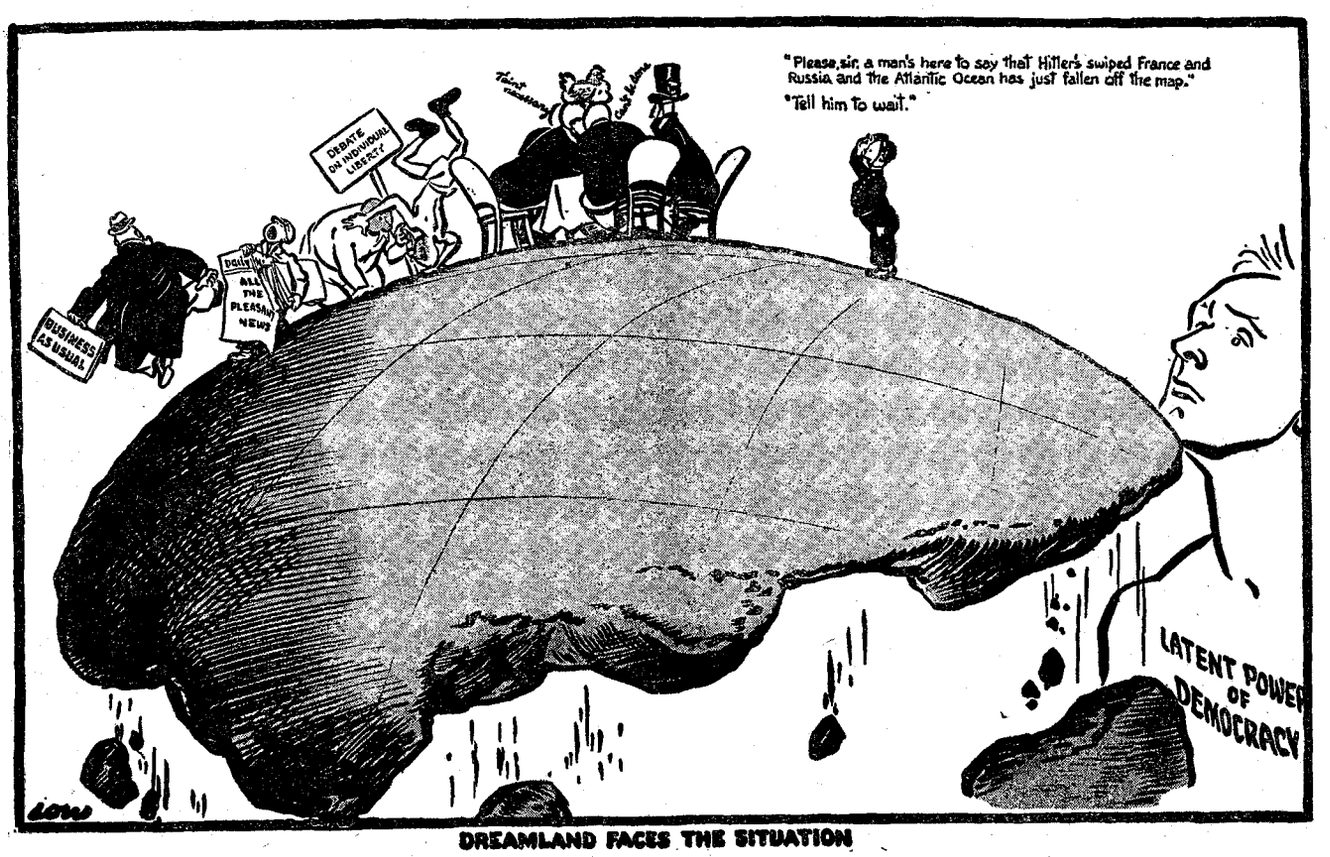
of the German merchants and soldiers who followed the Teutonic Knights, controlled the business, industry, and agriculture of these provinces. They were the *Herrenvolk*—a ruling class who looked down on the non-Teutonic part of the population. Worse yet, the Baltic barons owned so much of the land that Lettish and Estonian farmers faced a future of continued exploitation at the hands of this small feudal minority. In Estonia six hundred families of the German nobility owned about half the entire area of the country. In Latvia much the same conditions prevailed. To meet this situation both countries passed agrarian-reform laws that broke up the large estates and made possible the acquisition of land by Lettish and Estonian farmers. In Latvia the redistribution of land left the Germans 60,000 hectares of the 2,700,000 they had previously owned. This legislation, long overdue, naturally met with bitter resistance.

Even before Hitler came to power in the Reich, his agents and his propaganda had reached the German minorities in Latvia and Estonia. Nazi slogans, Nazi ambitions, and Nazi ideology early made an impression upon the Germans in both countries. When the Nazis in the Reich shouted that "blood knows no national frontiers," the cry was eagerly taken up by local Nazi Führers and followers in the Baltic countries. The proud and once-powerful Baltic barons saw in Hitler's brown-shirt imperialism an opportunity to regain their former lands and to become again the ruling minority. These Germanic groups became the *Vorposten* of National Socialism in the northeastern sector of the *Drang nach Osten.*

In the Nazi hierarchy of Germany it was a Balt, Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, who became director of the Foreign Affairs Section of the National Socialist Party. Later he was to become the "prophet laureate" of the Reich. Born in what is now Estonia, a native of Czarist Russia, Rosenberg's orientation is eastward. He, perhaps more than any other Nazi, fathers the drive against the U. S. S. R.

Hitler is anxious to get control of these Baltic nations for both economic and military reasons. When the Nazis think of Latvia and Estonia they think primarily in terms of food and raw materials. The poultry, cattle, hogs, and vegetables of the little Baltic states could provide much food for hungry Germans in the Reich. Butter, not yet displaced by cannon, is plentiful in both countries. And the timber, flax, hides, and other raw materials could form important shipments for German industry. The Nazis would like to obtain these products and pay for them with manufactured goods. Under this plan Latvia and Estonia would become part of the Reich's vast *Grossraumwirtschaft;* they would be at once a raw-materials supply base and a market for German exports. Further, the exports from these Baltic nations could be bartered by the Reich to other countries for copper, cotton, manganese, rubber, nickel, and other products that Germany must have in order to lead in the armament race.

For military reasons the two countries play important roles in the high strategy of Nazi *Weltpolitik.* Once under German control, they would provide a base of


"Please, sir, a man's here to say that Hitler's swiped France and Russia and the Atlantic Ocean has just fallen off the map."
"Tell him to wait."
DEBATE ON INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY
BUSINESS AS USUAL
LATENT POWER OF DEMOCRACY
low

DREAMLAND FACES THE SITUATION

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operations against the Soviet Union. Hitler would have advanced aviation bases in Estonia less than one hundred miles from Leningrad. If, in addition, he could win Finland to his support, he could control the Gulf of Finland and bottle up the Russian naval forces there. Indeed, with Latvia and Estonia under his thumb, Hitler could well call the Baltic a German lake. He would be in a position to drive a hard bargain with the Soviet Union.

To further his campaign in this region, Hitler has made use of such German propaganda organizations as the Bund Deutscher Osten and the Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Auslande. He has brought the radio into full play, broadcasting his propaganda to the German minorities in both nations. It is an easy matter for Nazi agents to reach the Germans in these countries, because they are largely concentrated in the cities. Their high cultural level, solidarity, and determination give them power out of all proportion to their numbers.

But most important of all, the German minorities in Latvia and Estonia provide Hitler with an excuse to intervene in those countries whenever it suits his purpose to do so. When he wants to march his troops into those Baltic lands, he has merely to repeat the performance that he staged last year in Czechoslovakia. He can charge the Letts and Estonians with the same "atrocities" that were perpetrated by the Czechs against helpless Germans and that are now being "inflicted" by the Poles upon the German minority in Poland. Furthermore, Hitler always has the excuse ready to hand that he must "save" these border states from Bolshevism. Some observers in Tallinn and Riga suspect that when the time comes for a German advance against Latvia and Estonia, Hitler will either claim that these nations are conspiring with the Soviet Union or charge the Soviets with planning aggression against them, although the U. S. S. R. has non-aggression pacts with all the Baltic states.

As for the Letts and Estonians themselves, they want to be let alone to enjoy their hard-won independence. They recall all too well the attempt initiated in 1918 by Baron Dellingshausen, leader of the Baltic nobility, to make the Baltic provinces a duchy in union with Prussia. Letts and Estonians are hardy, stubborn fighters. Centuries of alien rule by Germans, Swedes, and Russians failed to break their will to be free peoples. Left to themselves, they would meet Nazi force with force. But the Franco-British policies with regard to Austria, Spain, and Czechoslovakia have made an impression on them. Anxiously they watch the devious diplomacy of the Western democracies and wonder whether "appeasement" may yet find victims on the shores of the Baltic.

The Truth About Taxes

BY SIMON O. LESSER

I

DOUBTS assail the most devout; you may have an active sympathy for the New Deal and still sometimes wonder if taxes aren't "too high." After reading hundreds of news stories about how burdensome taxes are to various firms in relation to sales, earnings, dividends, or pay rolls, you would have to be pretty hard-hearted not to feel some pity for our unfortunate corporate giants. Maybe they could and would pay higher wages if taxes weren't so high. Maybe they could and would lower prices. Maybe high taxes are an important reason why business is so bad. Many Americans now believe that. Many Americans also believe that money paid for taxes is diverted from the general economy, and that things would be all right if we could just balance the budget.

By and large the things we get from government are intangibles, often of no apparent personal value. If we live in the city, we may not see how it helps us for the government to distribute millions to the farmers. The value of many public services—the provision of water, sewage disposal, traffic regulation, and the like—is of course recognized, but we pay for these with very real, hard-earned dollars, and naturally we sometimes wonder if we are getting our money's worth. The doubt has been systematically fostered. Reactionary business men and publishers tell us constantly that taxes are too high and a basic cause of poor business. And taxes are high, they add, because of the extravagance and inefficiency of the government.

It's high time we saw through this one-sided version of taxation. Either we must attack some of the underlying conditions that make government cost so much or we must become reconciled to paying for the things furnished by the government, as we are to paying for everything else.

II

Since the World War governmental expenditures and taxes have increased enormously. In 1913 the aggregate tax bill of the country—federal, state, and local—was $2,259,000,000. In 1930 it was $10,300,000,000; in 1938, $13,700,000,000. On a per capita basis, taxes rose from $23 in 1913 to $84 in 1930 and $105 in 1938; and that is not the whole story, for per capita expendi-

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tures in 1938 rose higher still. Even when considered as a percentage of a mounting national income, taxes have sharply increased. In 1913 taxes absorbed 7 per cent of the national income; in 1930, 14 per cent; in 1937, 17.7 per cent; and in 1938, when national income declined, 22 per cent.

But the additional billions collected weren't thrown away. They were used. We spent $1,500,000,000 more for education in 1930 than we did in 1913; this one item accounts for 21.1 per cent of the total increase in governmental expenditures during the period. In 1913 there were only 1,100,000 students enrolled in public secondary schools. In 1930 there were four times as many. College attendance increased at an almost equal rate. As a nation we committed ourselves to giving most of our children a high-school education and to sending many of them on to college. Naturally our expenses rose.

In the same period the automobile skyrocketed governmental expenditures. There were only 1,250,000 horseless carriages in America in 1913. By 1930 there were 26,500,000—and the government had to supply roads for this horde of autos. In 1913 we spent only $181,000,000 for rural highways; in 1930 we spent $1,500,000,000. The difference represents 17.5 per cent of the increase in the cost of government. Additional hundreds of millions had to be spent on city streets and on traffic control.

The oil industry has been more bitter than any other in its complaints about taxes. At every opportunity General Motors' Mr. Sloan sounds off about them, too; and Mr. Ford is the prototype of the rugged individualist who doesn't need the government and wants no part of it. But would the automobile and oil industries, which were such important factors in the economic efflorescence of the twenties, have achieved anything like their present development if roads had remained a private enterprise, operated on the toll-gate principle, or if the government had refused to hard-surface the dirt roads of the country? These industries were actually subsidized by the government; the automobile is one of the principal reasons why taxes are so high. It may be objected that gasoline taxes and automobile-license fees have covered the cost of roads, but in fact they have done so only during the past few years.

The essential point, however, in any consideration of expenditures for education and roads is that these expenditures were the direct result of our own demands. We wanted paved roads on which we could do sixty miles an hour; we wanted better educational facilities for our children; and we got them. The government simply acted as our agent. We are to blame for the expenditure, if anyone is. But is anyone to be blamed? Most of us will agree that it is good that we are able to give more of our children more education. And—although this is more dubious—I think we shall have to concede that the automobile has added something to the pleasure of life. If the results are good, then the public expenditures which have made them possible have their value, too.

III

No matter what sort of breakdown is employed in analyzing governmental expenditures, their connection with the general economy becomes apparent. For example, approximately half of all public expenditures are for salaries and wages. The trend here, between 1913 and 1930, was definitely up. But the trend was up in private industry, too. Wages paid by the government were simply keeping pace.

In the same way the upward trend of business prices has materially affected the cost of government. About 20 per cent of the government's expenditures—so criticized by reactionary business—are for the products of business. In the seventeen years between 1913 and 1930 state and local governments issued $14,200,000,000 worth of bonds for financing construction projects. Clarence Heer estimates that if 1913 construction costs had remained in effect, the projects would have cost only $7,400,000,000. The difference—$6,800,000,000—really represents the result of price and wage inflation. According to Heer, "The aggregate burden of taxation in 1930 was about 83 per cent greater than it would have been had 1913 price and wage scales remained in effect."

Once we realize that inconspicuous and gradual changes can affect the cost of government in this way, we need not be too surprised at the bill for the period 1929-33, when there was almost complete collapse of our economy. With the national income 50 per cent less, with 13,000,000 workers out of a job, and with financial values and institutions collapsing, the people naturally turned to the government for succor. There arose precisely the same kind of pressure which had caused the government to spend more for education and roads, except that it was more general, intense, and articulate. If you are a farmer or were unemployed in 1933, it won't be necessary to remind you of the direct connection between New Deal spending and your own demands. If you are a big industrialist, you may have to be reminded; and you may hate the New Deal all the more intensely because of your confession of helplessness back in '33, "just as a proud woman," as Emil Ludwig puts it, "never quite forgets her resentment against the man to whom she yielded in a moment of weakness."

Many of us with good memories err in another way: we perceive the desirability of only those governmental expenditures which directly benefit us. A fair presentation of the facts would probably overcome this myopia, but the facts are kept from us and the needs of various groups minimized or disregarded. In consequence we attribute the heavy spending of the Roosevelt Administration not to the extraordinary need but to unprecedented

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extravagance. Or we turn things around and blame the New Deal for the very conditions which compelled the New Deal to spend. Unemployment, for example, is held to be the *result* of government spending and consequent "loss of confidence," instead of recognized as a symptom of some fundamental sickness in our economy. The expenditures made necessary by underlying maladjustments demanding correction are attacked as the cause of those maladjustments.

One more group of federal expenditures which clearly result from the disordered state of the world must be mentioned—those for war. In 1913 the United States spent $425,000,000 on past, present, and future wars. In 1930 it spent $2,221,000,000. The difference represents 27.7 per cent of the increase in the cost of government between 1913 and 1930. As a cause of high taxes war outranks even education or roads. Over 25 cents out of every tax dollar collected in 1930—federal, state, and local—went for war. On a percentage basis, war has cost slightly less in recent years—but only because recovery expenditures outweigh it. In dollars and cents, expenditures for war have reached new peacetime highs.

IV

Taxes, we see, are primarily results not causes. But the level of taxes and to an even greater extent the kind of taxes levied have their repercussions on the entire economy. The achievement of a sound tax program is an urgent problem, which will not be solved so long as we insist on regarding taxes as the source of all evil. Better business, lower prices, and increased employment are not dependent on lower government expenditures, but will bring them about. Government expenditures will automatically decrease when industry achieves fuller productivity and development. It isn't true that things will be all right with the world once we balance the budget; it's the other way around. Once things are all right with the world, we shall—quite easily—balance the budget. Recognition of this fact will protect us from most of the nonsense that we hear about taxation. But a few current notions demand a brief examination.

Many people fear that money paid out in taxes is diverted from the general economy—that if the national income is $60,000,000,000 and taxes are $12,000,000,000, only $48,000,000,000 remains to buy the products of private industry. We already possess the figures that should exorcise this anxiety. The government itself is the best customer of private industry, spending roughly a fifth of its income to buy goods. A still larger proportion—approximately half—goes for wages and salaries; and government employees use their money, just as others do, to pay the landlord and to buy food, furniture, clothing, and automobiles. If any money paid out by the government is diverted from the economy, it is, ironically, the interest paid on government bonds to the capitalists who are doing most of the complaining. Many of the institutions and individuals that own government bonds do not spend or invest all their income, and some of the dollars they receive are retired instead of being put to work. Fortunately, less than 9 per cent of all governmental expenditures are for interest on the public debt. The remaining expenditures nourish the economy instead of weakening it.

But the government, we are told, is wasteful, extravagant, and corrupt; we don't get our money's worth for the things we buy through it. Perhaps not, but where do we get our money's worth? We know that waste, extravagance, and corruption exist in business, too, and that we pay for them in the form of higher prices for goods and losses on investments. We know, as a result of Brookings Institution studies, that even in its best year, 1929, our economy operated at only 81 per cent of potential efficiency. Despite its wide acceptance, there is no evidence for the assumption that business is more efficient than government.

There is immense waste, to be sure, in the overlapping of local government units. Approximately 175,000 governmental agencies in this country have the authority to levy taxes. The December, 1937, *Fortune* suggested a fundamentally sound solution of this problem. "The simple answer is centralization of taxes. For instance, each state could collect all property taxes within its borders, so that the property would be taxed just once at a uniform rate and a uniform valuation. Little government units within units, barnacles that they are, could be abolished. States could be sensibly split into cities (for urban districts) and counties (for rural districts)."

Obviously, no matter what their level, taxes always seem too high. Even if a chart in the paper shows clearly that food prices have decreased 20 per cent in a few months' time, you will never get a housewife to admit that groceries are really cheap. Taxes are still easier to grumble about, because you don't carry anything home when you pay your bill. Of course taxes can be in fact too high. We mustn't spend all our money for roads and schools or even for wars and depressions. Taxes are absorbing an ever larger proportion of the national income. Even if that income is higher this year, taxes will take about 20 per cent of it. Clearly there is a limit somewhere. But when we view the matter in international perspective, that limit does not appear to have been reached. In Germany, England, and France far more than 20 per cent of the national income goes for taxes. According to *Fortune*, "The citizen of no nation winds up with so much untaxed income as does the average American."

That does not prove, however, that our taxes are too low or lessen the desirability of reducing governmental expenditures resulting from wars, depressions, and overlapping local agencies. Unless we are successful in our attack upon these evils, or are misled into depriving

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ourselves of useful governmental services, we must face the fact that taxes will have to be not lower but higher (in terms of dollars, not necessarily in relation to national income). "We have not had a balanced budget in this country in twenty years," John T. Flynn points out. "From 1915 to 1921 the federal-government budget was unbalanced because of the war. Since 1931 it has been unbalanced because of the depression. In the years between 1922 and 1930 the combined budgets of the state and local governments were unbalanced." These perennially unbalanced budgets aren't quite so bad as they at first seem. Since 1915 we have spent billions on semi-permanent assets, such as schools, roads, and bridges. There is no reason why we should not go into debt to some extent to pay for these, just as a corporation does to improve its plant. Furthermore, there are times when unbalanced budgets are economically indicated: those of the last eight years have helped arrest the deflation which brought them into being.

However, a budget unbalanced for twenty years which include the greatest period of prosperity this country has ever known should give us pause. Between 1913 and 1938 the government debt increased from $5,000,000,000 to $56,000,000,000. Over such a stretch of time we should have come nearer than we did to striking a balance. We have found that we couldn't have spent a great deal less. But we could have resorted to stiffer taxation, particularly during the prosperous twenties when it would not have been burdensome. Why weren't taxes higher in the twenties? So far as federal taxes are concerned, those statesmen who proclaimed Andrew Mellon the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton had a great deal to do with the matter. But we let them dominate our government. And we must accept responsibility for the erroneously low level of taxes which prevailed.

We must also see that we do not make the same mistake again. We must permit the government to tax us more heavily—even insist on its doing so—during the next period of real prosperity. Fortunately, we can do this in a relatively painless way. When business improves, the present levies will produce far more revenue. All we have to do is to permit them to remain in effect, instead of demanding that they be reduced once the mystic point is reached where we've "balanced the budget." Not only are high taxes easier to pay in prosperous times, but they help to brake the kind of runaway boom that usually ends with a hard bump. By paying your relatively large tax bill with a smile in good times, you may save many a headache—and many a dollar—later on.

We Catholics Have a Duty

BY RUTH E. O'KEEFE

CAN a Catholic be a good citizen of a democracy? The question seems absurd when we remember the many Catholics who have given devoted service to this country. Nevertheless, it is being asked today, not by the Ku Klux Klan, but by us Catholics. A new situation is presented to us by the attempt of our clergy to direct our political activities. What are we to do when our bishop tells us to vote one way and our conscience leads us in the opposite direction?

The conflict between conscience and clerical dictation was strikingly apparent when Cardinal O'Connell set out to defeat ratification of the Child Labor Amendment in Massachusetts. A letter from the Cardinal condemning the amendment was read in nearly all the churches of the archdiocese. Catholic legislators who had been for the amendment changed their position overnight. It was the first open display in this country of the power of the clergy and the docility of the laity. Non-Catholics who were aware of what had happened were startled and dismayed. The effect on the Catholic community was curious. The members of the clerically controlled, centrally directed lay organizations marched in an unbroken phalanx to the support of the clerical position. They seemed to take pride in a church powerful enough to make a state legislature turn somersaults. But there were others, with perhaps a better knowledge of the political history of the church in other lands, who were alarmed.

Clerically organized pressure groups have had increasing success in interfering with the rights of free speech and assembly. These same pressure groups have been used to promote the international policies of the Vatican. This is a matter of record and does not need detailed restatement here. The question is, what are Americans, Catholic and non-Catholic, to do about it?

Non-Catholics can do only harm by exaggerating or misunderstanding the situation. In general it may be said that attacks by outsiders tend to strengthen Catholic solidarity. But the non-Catholic official can at least refuse to yield to the threat of the "solid Catholic vote." The solid Catholic vote does not exist. The illusion of unity is created by the lay organizations. These are vocal and, it is true, completely docile. A Catholic who did not care for regimentation would not be happy as a member, indeed, would not be welcome. But the lay organizations

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do not represent the Catholic people. For every Catholic in the Knights of Columbus or the League of Catholic Women or any similar group there are at least ten outside. And hundreds of thousands of these Catholics outside the organization resent clerical dictation. You can hear them on the church steps any Sunday after Mass. They can be found in any gathering of workers or professional people. They can be found in surprising numbers among the apparently docile women. Legislators who have the courage to resist clerical dictation are reelected even in overwhelmingly Catholic districts. The clergy cannot deliver the Catholic vote today. We would beg the non-Catholic official to continue to listen with his present admirable tolerance to any arguments for political action which the Catholic clergy may advance. They have the same right to express themselves as other citizens. But we would also entreat him to resist pressure as such and to believe that his resistance will find wide support among his Catholic constituents.

That still leaves the major battle to us Catholics. While the main body of the laity is unorganized as yet, the organizations are growing fast, and Catholic Action aims to include us all. Catholic Action explicitly disclaims any political objective. But few can believe that if there arose some situation like that created by the civil war in Spain, Catholic Action groups, as well as the present organizations, would not be mobilized for political pressure. We must decide now, before it is too late, whether the demand for political unanimity on questions on which the clergy take a definite stand is something which must be accepted by all loyal Catholics or something which we may and should resist.

The problem is complicated. We are grateful to a church which has safeguarded our heritage of faith and which, long ago, laid the foundation of all democracies by its declaration that all men are equal in the sight of God. We could not be induced to attack this mother of European civilization. But if the clergy themselves, in going outside their legitimate sphere, are unconsciously the destroyers of the moral power of the church and hence her greatest enemies, then to resist their excessive demands is most truly to defend the church. The most important thing we as Catholics can do, then, is to become clear ourselves as to the proper limits of clerical authority.

Some Catholic spokesmen declare that a Catholic must follow his bishop whenever the bishop chooses to assume the role of leader. For example, the *Providence Visitor,* in its issue of February 2, says: "When you separate a Catholic from his bishop you separate him from his church. There is no such thing as an individual Catholic." If this statement were true the fears of the most extreme opponents of Al Smith would be justified. Fortunately for us all, this is only the irresponsible utterance of an anonymous editor of a Catholic journal. Repetition by other irresponsible people does not make it true. The authorities in the American Catholic church speak quite differently. For a definition of the limits of clerical authority we can turn to a great American, the late Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. In answer to the question, "If the Pope were to command Catholics in purely civil matters to be disloyal to their country would they be bound to obey him?" the Cardinal wrote:

> The Pope will take no such action we know, even though it is part of the Catholic faith that he is infallible in the exercise of his teaching authority; but were he to do so he would stand self-condemned, the transgressor of the law he himself promulgates. He would be offending not only against civil society but against God, and violating an authority as truly from God as his own. Any Catholic who clearly recognized this would be bound not to obey the Pope; or rather his conscience would bind him absolutely to disobey, because with Catholics conscience is the supreme law, which under no circumstances can we lawfully disobey.

On this statement it is possible to build our position. If the Pope cannot command us in civil matters, it is clear that no bishop or priest with only a derivative authority has the right so to command us. As Catholics we are obliged to fulfil our duties as citizens according to the dictates of our conscience and must be guilty of no disloyalty even if the whole hierarchy should unite to force disloyalty upon us. Furthermore, we must recognize that the greatest disloyalty of which we could be guilty would be to help, actively or passively, to build a Catholic bloc. Quebec with its censorship and padlock laws teaches us how destructive to democratic institutions a powerful, clerically directed bloc can be.

The church makes no claim to infallibility outside the strict limits of faith and morals, and even a slight acquaintance with our past would teach us that in its ordinary political relations the Catholic church is and has been a human institution with the faults to which temporal governments are subject. It is true that we can take pride in the pure and selfless lives of the majority of our popes. No kingly dynasty can match their record. But we should know and accept the fact that the best popes were not always good statesmen and that the worst popes put material or family interests before justice.

Quite as much as we revere the great pontiffs in the long succession to Peter, we should revere, as does the church itself, the notable Catholics who opposed the popes when their political pretensions were excessive or partisan. St. Bernard rebuked the luxury of the papal court and questioned the wisdom of its temporal policies. When Innocent IV declared a crusade against the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II in the thirteenth century, Louis of France, the king-saint, withheld his approval and made every effort to mediate between pope and emperor. Franciscans and Dominicans went far and wide

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armed with special indulgences to recruit fighting men for this war against the emperor in his possessions of Aragon and Sicily. Such abuse of the spiritual power alienated lay opinion throughout the world but especially in England and Germany. It is interesting to remember this in the light of Spain, so recently torn by a civil war in which Franco's bombs had the papal blessing.

The Hohenstaufens lost in the end, but so did the papacy. The conflict led to its subjection to French policy and the long exile in Avignon. There is much in that Babylonian captivity which seems to parallel the present situation of the Pope in Rome. Then a line of French popes living in a small papal possession in France worked for French policies rather than for justice. Now Italian popes, under the apparent domination of a strong Italy, seem, if reluctantly, to serve Italian interests. The popes were delivered from Avignon by St. Catherine of Sienna. Any Catholic who believes that his religion requires political subservience would do well to read her letters.

In other centuries there were periods of some length when the policies of the Vatican were dictated by the family interests of the popes. This was especially true at the time of the Renaissance, during the pontificates of Sixtus IV, Alexander VI, and Julius II, who were more interested in securing place and power for their relations than in promoting Christian justice and concord. Throughout this period the true voice of the church seemed to issue from the protesting Catholic people rather than from the Vatican.

But it is not necessary to pick unworthy wearers of the triple crown to point the obvious moral. The best and purest made their costly mistakes in world policy, and the devout and loyal opposed them. Indeed, the record leads us to believe that we serve our church best when we serve our country with the free decisions of our individual judgment.

As I talk to people here and there in this country I become aware of a rising tide of dissatisfaction among the Catholic laity. There are many causes for that dissatisfaction, some personal, some local; but everywhere I hear protests against clerical dictation in civil matters. We have no outlet for this dissatisfaction in any opportunity to discuss our difficulties with the clergy. As individuals we may bring our problems to the confessional, but you do not talk back to a priest there or anywhere. All this repressed unrest must break the dikes sooner or later. When it does, perhaps we shall have a lay organization of a new character, so truly devoted to the spiritual heritage of Catholicism that it will save the American Catholic church from the dangerous political activity of its clergy.

In the meantime all of us Catholics have a duty binding in conscience. That duty is to follow our individual convictions and allow no one to lead us into the death-trap of the Catholic bloc.

Pocket Guide

IS GRADE A MILK RICHER?

BEFORE you pay the extra three or four cents a quart for Grade A milk, have a talk with your local health officer. Most of us think that Grade A milk is richer than Grade B, but in very few communities is that the case. Only here and there some local authority insists on extra butter fat in Grade A milk. In New York City both Grade A and Grade B must have at least 3 per cent of butter fat.

There is often a little more safety in Grade A milk. In New York City certified milk, after pasteurization, must not contain more than 10,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter, Grade A milk not more than 30,000, and Grade B milk not more than 50,000. For the average person that difference amounts to practically nothing. Except for babies and invalids you can forget it. The extra paper cap on the Grade A bottle keeps the lip of the bottle clean but is hardly worth the difference in price. The best economy may even be to buy skim milk. The *Consumers' Guide* (published by Consumers' Council of the AAA) says that skim milk has everything that whole milk has except fat. One quart of fluid skim milk, says the *Guide*, plus one and one-half ounces of butter, will give you all the food value of whole milk.

GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE U. S. A.

It may be good enough for the U. S. A. but it isn't for Canada. What? Why, the label on the can. American canners often have to print two sets of labels because the label that passes at home isn't accepted in Canada. In Canada the label must tell all; in the United States it need tell mighty little. Canada has strict labeling laws. Canned fruits, vegetables, honey, maple syrup, eggs, fresh fruits, and fresh vegetables have to be marked for quality. When people in this country ask for such labels on cans of fruit and vegetables for our own market, the canners get the Save-the-Constitution jitters. Anyway, they say, with their hands on their public-loving hearts, it won't work. Nobody will buy the cheaper grades. But the same manufacturers find it works perfectly in Canada.

FOR WOMEN ONLY

All right, all right, all you men, I'll say a few words to women about their faces. Though goodness knows why I should. I began telling the truth about face creams and cosmetics in 1926, and what good did it do? Other people have been telling it, too. The state of Maine has done a good job giving the facts. But do women believe us? No. We prove to them that a three-dollar cream costs ten cents, including the jar, and that a two-dollar powder costs five cents including the box, and then they go right on using the three-dollar jar and the two-dollar box.

For the fringe of women who believe us but don't know what to do about it, here are some practical dollar-saving suggestions. For cleaning your face: use soap and water. If your skin is very dry, lanolin is better than cold cream, and also better than olive oil. For enlarged pores and blackheads: wash your face at night, apply oxide of zinc cream, and leave it on overnight. For a face mask: apply white of egg,

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just as it comes out of the shell. Don't use cream beforehand, for that will destroy the effect. Leave the egg-white on for twenty minutes. When you take it off, your face will be red for an hour or so and may smart a bit; the purpose of the mask is to bring the blood to the surface of the skin. One egg will give you three or four treatments. For a shampoo: use soap and rinse well. Dry by rubbing. Rubbing and brushing your hair will do more for it than all the salves and tonics in the world. If your hair is dry, apply a little vaseline at the roots. For rough elbows or knees: get a five-cent bag of common salt at the grocer's. Rub it into the rough spots when the skin is wet. It works much more quickly than cream and makes the skin feel lovely.

The *Consumers' Guide* of the AAA tells this one: "A large manufacturer of breakfast foods put on a test sales campaign a short while ago. He offered consumers identical packages of his product at two prices—a single package at 10 cents, two packages for 23 cents. When he counted up sales at the end of the campaign, this is what he found: 33 per cent more packages of the breakfast food were sold at the two-for-23-cents price than at the 10-cents-each price."

Printer's Ink announces a brand-new noise for our streets, a De Soto "talking car." It is a "specially engineered job which goes through a complete demonstration of its own volition. It switches headlights on and off, opens and shuts the luggage locker, stops and starts the engine, and plays the radio . . . and of course blows its own horn both literally and figuratively. A sales talk is synchronized to the moving demonstrations, played on a record under the hood and broadcast through three loud speakers." It will be demonstrated on busy streets. HELEN WOODWARD

In the Wind

HOLLYWOOD'S BIGGEST question mark is the fate of John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath," recently purchased by Daryl Zanuck. Despite "inspired" denials, reports persist that Zanuck bought the film rights at the suggestion of Chase National Bank interests in order to keep the book off the screen. The Chase Bank has close ties with key figures in the reactionary Associated Farmers.

TO PROMOTE his newly formed "American Vindicators," Senator Reynolds of North Carolina has launched a magazine setting forth the organization's policies. It is called *The American Vindicator,* and recently it blared: "We invite you to join us, regardless of race, creed, or politics. Let the Protestant people stand as one great army against the attacks made upon our democracy and Christianity."

WHEN THE British government wants to broadcast a statement, the British Broadcasting Corporation is compelled to interrupt scheduled programs. A fortnight ago it refused to do so. B. B. C. got instructions to clear the air at 9 p.m. Shortly before that time the statement arrived by messenger, but after it had been carefully studied, it was firmly rejected. It was headed: "Disposal of Civil Corpses in War."

MISSING FROM the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition is an exhibit contracted for and planned by the Birth Control Federation. Although the federation had already spent $1,000 preparing its exhibit, exposition officials suddenly withdrew the space, returned the rental fee, and offered no explanation.

FROM *RADIO GUIDE:* "'Kaltenborn Edits the News' (Pure Oil) will be heard Sunday and Tuesday nights."

WRITING IN *The Nation* last December, the Reverend William C. Kernan traced many of Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic statements to the Nazi news agency World Service. Now J. H. Plenn, in a new book called "Mexico Marches," traces back the same material still farther and shows that both World Service and Father Coughlin borrowed from an article which appeared much earlier in the Ford-owned *Dearborn Independent.*

THE NEW HISTORY: Robert A. Millikan, winner of the Nobel Prize for physics, told Los Angeles business men recently that "no serious or prolonged unemployment occurred until the enterprisers who normally create jobs began to be suppressed, legislated against, and scared by unwise financial and political policies."

IN AN elevator at 15 Exchange Place, in the heart of Wall Street, two financial bigwigs were discussing their summer plans. One was vague; the other announced confidently: "I'm sending my wife to Russia, and I'll follow her soon. It's the only safe place now."

WITHOUT ANY fanfare British scientists are getting ready for war. Sir Walter Moberley, chairman of the Advisory Council of the Ministry of Labor, has outlined plans for mobilizing technicians, engineers, architects, and others; they will all be drafted for "scientific" war service.

TYPOGRAPHICAL TRAGEDY, reported by *Editor and Publisher:* The Omaha *Benson Times* apologized for describing the Ever Christian Endeavor Society as a "love organization" instead of a live organization.

ON APRIL 17 the Chicago *Tribune* stated that "only the alien-minded" and those "who desire to use the welfare of the United States for purposes opposed to its own welfare" indorsed F. D. R.'s message to Hitler. Eleven days later the Gallup poll showed that 60 per cent of the country indorsed it.

IT'S SAID in London that Chamberlain is afraid that a full British alliance with Russia will provoke Mussolini into joining the axis.

[*Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind. The $5 prize for the best item received in May goes to Edward Curry of Morgantown, West Virginia, for the story about George Deatherage and Senator Reynolds published three weeks ago.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Montreal, May 19

THE King and Queen have come and gone. Until their train passed by, great crowds stood even at the suburban stations hoping for a glimpse of this most winning of royal couples. The great square in front of the Windsor Hotel last evening was jammed with people when George and Elizabeth appeared upon the balcony to bow their thanks once more and to be heartened by the rousing cheers of the crowd. This overwhelmingly French city, like Quebec, paid a tribute to the King and Queen which cannot be minimized. It is true that Canadians rarely have the opportunity to witness great spectacles or parades, and it is also true that at points along the long twenty-three-mile drive of the titular rulers of Great Britain there was little or no applause. That was doubtless in part due to the fact that the royal automobile appeared suddenly and passed quickly. The crowd in the grandstand in which I sat had hardly begun to cheer when the car had already gone by. There was much disappointment that there was no military escort and parade and that, because the cortege was well behind its schedule, there was possible only a fleeting glimpse of the sovereigns, the diffident, modest King and the charming Queen Elizabeth—the ladies all declared that she was far more attractive than her pictures had made her out to be.

After a day each in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal, and after talking with quite a number of people, I am prepared to say that the Canadians' greetings to their distinguished visitors were primarily personal. King George and his consort have made a great appeal, and the circumstances in connection with their elevation to the throne have if anything reinforced this. Nowhere did I hear any reference to the Duke of Windsor, and when I asked how he and his duchess would be received if they should turn up in Canada, the answer was that Canadians are much less vulgarly curious (especially as to movie stars!) than we of the United States, and that probably the ex-King and his wife would attract very little attention. The reception given to King George in Ottawa will doubtless be influenced more by his official status than was the case in Montreal. Toronto, being much more British than Montreal, is likely to endeavor to outdo the metropolis in receiving the King. But the sincerity, the friendliness, the good-will, and, yes, the affection which the King and Queen will encounter everywhere cannot fail to impress the recipients and all observers. If the press has been a bit hysterical in its headlines, the prevailing tone of the demonstrations, as of the decorations of public and private buildings, has been quiet, dignified, and in the best of taste.

It does not follow, however, that all this is a great demonstration to the fascist powers that the component parts of the British Empire are standing shoulder to shoulder, and will Mr. Hitler please especially take notice. If the trip was primarily arranged for a political purpose, it will hardly at its end, I believe, be written down as a complete success. The warm greeting given Their Majesties does not mean that the French Canadians will abate one jot their anti-imperialism, or their positive opposition to conscription, or their repugnance to fighting overseas to help the United Kingdom if the incredible Mr. Chamberlain finally lands it in the hell of war. A debate on foreign policy has been going on in Parliament —even while the royal ship was on its slow voyage over. Of some eighteen or nineteen French members who have thus far participated in the discussion, only one, a member of the Cabinet, has failed to make it clear that he is utterly opposed to overseas crusades for the empire. They and their steadily growing constituencies are all isolationists and against any repetition of the military history of 1914-18. They will take part gladly in the unveiling of the national monument to the Canadian dead at Ottawa Sunday, but they say they are for no more foreign wars and they mean it, and so do many in the British section of this bilingual country.

Naturally I found men to say that if war came and London were bombed, there would again be a great patriotic outburst. Some believe that the pledges against conscription given by Mr. Manion, the Conservative leader, and the Liberal Prime Minister, Mackenzie King, will be got around by the simple device of forming a National government and claiming that it is not bound by the pledge given by the head of a defunct Liberal government. But others, and some whose opinions I especially value, assured me that there would be no conscription whatever, that the opposition of French Canada will not melt, not even in the face of war fires abroad, and that without French adherence conscription is impossible.

But today Canada is united in its welcome to the King and Queen; it is not insensible to the flattery of this being the very first trip a reigning British king and queen have ever taken to a British dominion. I believe there is only one real regret—that the little princesses aren't there, too.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE real story of Gandhi's latest victory in India and the events preceding it did not get past the British censorship. The story that did get through is epitomized in the headline of a London dispatch which appeared in the New York *Times* of March 12. "Intervention of the Viceroy," it read, "Brings Britain in on the Side of Those Defending the Rights of People." The true story, which calls for a different headline, is now available in a small volume by Haridas T. Muzumdar recently published.*

Here it is in brief: The Thakore of Rajkot, under pressure from the Congress Party, made an agreement, dated December 26, 1938, which provided for a general amnesty, withdrawal of repressive measures, and the creation of a committee of ten, jointly selected, to investigate the report upon a scheme of reforms giving "the widest possible powers" to the people. The agreement contained the assurance that the report of this committee would be "considered and given effect." Meanwhile, the Congress was to end agitation by its members.

At this point the British Resident in Rajkot, E. C. Gibson, entered the picture. Appendix F in Mr. Muzumdar's book consists of "Extracts from Notes of the Talks" at the British Residency on December 28. At that conference Mr. Gibson called down His Highness the Thakore for making any such agreement with the leaders of the Congress Party. "You know," said Mr. Gibson, "that the Government of India's wishes were that no outside interference should be allowed. By settling with him [Vallabhbhai Patel, of the Congress Party, whom Mr. Gibson described as "untrustworthy"] you have lost the sympathies of your brother princes and the government." It is not surprising that Mr. Gibson did not care to have an Indian prince set the alarming precedent of granting reforms at the instigation of the Congress Party. On January 21, 1939, the obedient Thakore issued a notification which in effect repudiated the terms of the agreement. Early in March, after fruitless attempts to work out a solution, the "frail" Gandhi, as the journalists like to call him, stopped eating. Four days later the press of the world announced that the Viceroy had intervened in the dispute, which was described as a dispute between Gandhi and the Thakore. On the fifth day Gandhi sipped a glass of orange juice, giving notice that the Government of India had yielded. The Viceroy had assured him that the reforms which the Thakore had repudiated at the instance of the British raj would be forthcoming. Of if you prefer the British version, he brought "Britain in on the Side of Those Defending Rights of People."

We are accustomed to think of Gandhi's non-violence as a mystical, Oriental, and unworldly technique. But the actual workings of non-violence in India are anything but mystical, and if anyone thinks that the All-India Congress is not politically shrewd let him examine the documents which are by far the most interesting items in this book. They include, along with the extracts of talks quoted above, copies of some intimate correspondence between the Thakore and Sir Patrick Cadell, his Prime Minister through the "good offices of the British Resident"—correspondence which neither party wrote for publication. How these damaging documents came into possession of the Congress Party is not revealed. That they were obtained and published in India, if not in the world press, fulfils even Western rules for shrewd politics and good journalism.

In general I wonder if the condescension of the "practical" politicians of the West, particularly on the left, for the "spiritual," meaning unpractical, methods of the East is not misplaced. Gandhi combines in his person the supremely honest man and the shrewd—and successful—politician. It is a combination of which the West was never more in need.

THE NATION published some time ago a letter from Arabia to an Arabian in this country describing the episode at Nürnberg when the Nazis invited 100 Arabs to be guests at the annual party conference and carried on propaganda among them in an attempt to win Arab support for Nazi designs in the Near East. One of the more piquant items was the report that the high Nazi officials told the Arabs that Hitler and his G-men, Göring and Goebbels, were really Moslems. But this is nothing new. I quote from Harold Nicolson's biography of Curzon, which is the third of his "Studies in Modern Diplomacy," recently reissued. The locale is Persia, during the war.

> Yet the local German agents, isolated and in hourly danger of their lives, never abandoned confidence. They armed Austrian and German prisoners who had escaped from the concentration camps at Tashkend; they provoked countless incidents in the hope that these incidents would force the Persian government to reprisals; they undermined our [British] influence and prestige by every means in their power, contending even that William II had been converted to the Moslem faith.

Incidentally these studies are salutary collateral reading for the devotees of daily newspapers. Large sections of the first volume, a biography of Mr. Nicolson's father, who labored in the vineyards of British diplomacy through a generation, read even in detail like earlier editions of the current book of European power politics. Consider, for instance, his long and finally successful attempt to reach an agreement with Russia, whom the British mistrusted, as one guard against the rising menace of Germany. Today the European text is highly colored by the new dyes of the October Revolution and the counter-revolution; the struggle of "fascism versus democracy," half-real, half-propaganda, looms so large in the new foreground that it tends to throw into shadow the old background where the ancient wars are still raging. At the moment the peoples of the so-called democracies in Europe are like prisoners who will fight to

* "Gandhi Triumphant! The Inside Story of the Historic Fast." New York: Universal Publishing Company. $1.

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maintain the freedom of the prison yard against the threat of solitary confinement. The escape from the prison itself has been deferred. But the governments seem to know, if the masses don't, that it has only been deferred. They also seem to be aware that war might set in motion the long-postponed jail-break, and since the primary characteristic of any government is its desire to stay in power it should not be assumed too lightly that the spirit of Munich has been finally banished.

OSCAR AMERINGER, Socialist and aphorist from God's Country (Oklahoma), recently paid a visit to what he calls the "brain belt." Mr. Ameringer, who is himself as full of social projects as a WPA office, is disappointed in the New Deal. He says its activities so far have reminded him too much of putting dry socks on a drowning man.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Lady After Fox

HUNTSMAN, WHAT QUARRY? By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper and Brothers. $2.

THE title-poem of Miss Millay's latest collection tells of a hunter tracking down a fox, and of a lady who would detain him. Just as he is about to yield, he catches a glimpse of his quarry and is off. The creature that he follows, not to tame, as he tells the lady, but to slay, is remembered joy. This lyric is a kind of theme-song for the book. For the poet too is on the trail of a bright thing out of the past, and however tempted by the urgencies of the present moment, at the first flicker of the fox's tail rushes back in pursuit. In such pieces as the opening ballad, with its delicate lilt, the brief lyric The True Encounter, and the memorable sonnet defying death in the grand manner, "Thou famished grave, I will not fill thee yet," she runs her fox to earth. Those poems in which she treats contemporary themes or attempts to employ a less traditional form are mere dalliance till the creature again breaks covert. Not to strain the allegory too far, it may be said that one finds here a number of songs and sonnets in Miss Millay's familiar style, and that mingled with these are poems speaking of the shames and horrors of our time and some more personal pieces which strike modern discords, and that these are less successful.

In her early work Miss Millay salted the conventional language of lyric poetry with plain speech and spiced its sweetness with malice. Here she seems to be making too deliberate an effort to escape prettiness. The effect is sometimes strained and sometimes absurd. Inert Perfection, for example, which is described as an egg not to be hatched, carries an unpleasant suggestion of soft-boiled beauty. The lady who, beneath the moon of "almighty Sex," goes "forth at nightfall crying like a cat," sets a risible image prowling about the fair tower she has builded. Miss Millay does not manage the long free-verse line with the skill she employs in traditional forms, and it helps her no whit, in what might have been a moving attack upon the prudent, to echo Kenneth Fearing thus: "Making no contacts, dealing with life through agents, drinking one cocktail, betting two dollars, wearing raincoats in the rain." Curiously enough, when she turns to subjects of current interest, she is most conventional. Say That We Saw Spain Die, while appropriately and skilfully using the image of the bull fight, by the very limitations of that image seems to remove the struggle to another century. Czechoslovakia is peculiarly inadequate, with its Scriptural allusions to balm in Gilead, the defection of Peter, and the crown of thorns. It is characteristic that the section of the book containing these political poems should include five sonnets, From a Town in State of Siege, having to do with snatched love, defeated by the lover's death.

Miss Millay is famous for her lyricism, her happy epithets, the verse in which she rebels fiercely against death or cleverly anatomizes love. All these are present here. But there is also the long unwieldy line, the awkward image, the pathetic reliance upon the pathetic fallacy, the tedious harping on the same string. The lyrics in memory of Elinor Wylie are worthy neither of the poet to whom they are addressed nor of the poet uttering them. The tender little elegies that Edna Millay wrote at college on a dead schoolmate are sharper. Miss Millay is more than competent. The pity is that she is less than critical in using her great gifts.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

Mahan to Hitler

MAHAN. By Captain W. D. Puleston, U. S. N. Yale University Press. $4.

"SEA-POWER, of course, has influenced the world in all ages. So also has oxygen. Yet just as oxygen, but for Priestley, might have remained until this day an indefinite and undetected factor, so might sea-power but for Mahan."

This judgment, written in the nineties by a Belgian reviewer and now quoted by Captain Puleston, hits the nail on the head. Before Alfred Thayer Mahan, naval historians had been "simple chroniclers of naval occurrences" and had "troubled themselves little about the connection between general history and their own particular topic." But to Mahan, then a good but rather ordinary officer on a small and worn-out warship, there "came from within the suggestion that the control of the sea was an historic factor which had never been systematically appreciated and expounded."

With most of the nations of the world lining up for another test of strength certain to strain and quite likely to smash the civilized life of most of them, if not of all, sea-power clearly affects everybody. Read Mahan's works and "Mein Kampf" together, with Captain Puleston's life of Mahan as a series of footnotes—there are many worse ways of finding out what is happening to us all. Captain Puleston has been director of the United States Naval Intelligence Service and has had access to the private documents of the Mahan family. His book is timely, free from mere uncritical eulogy, and full of sidelights on Mahan's work, the Anglo-German naval race, and American naval policy before 1914. Its list of Mahan's writings and its index are most useful.

But it has three faults. First, its style is flat. Secondly, it is not always critical enough, because Captain Puleston is himself too much like Mahan in general standpoint. For instance, in 1899, at the Hague conference, the United States delegation first favored, then rejected, compulsory arbitration, and for this rejection Mahan was responsible. Mahan is the proto-

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type of the military and naval experts who did so much to wreck the disarmament conference. Since their duty was simply to keep up their own country's armed strength—which meant being on guard against foreigners trying to do the same and against their own countrymen trying to divert taxation to civilian objectives—these naval and military experts were quick to point out dangers in every plan for internationally agreed arbitration, security, and disarmament. But they did not see the other side—that war is a far greater danger and that to whatever they are supposed to be defending compulsory arbitration and agreed disarmament are in the end essential, however difficult. These naval and military experts have had their way: they have helped to get collective security, disarmament, and arbitration rejected and have been brought up against the alternative—a treacherous grouping of powers in opposed camps, amassing weapons that may well destroy everything worth defending. It is partly owing to the professional one-sidedness of Mahan and his disciples that the great and necessary experiment of the League of Nations is dead and that many of us are probably facing cruel and futile fates. Of all this, Captain Puleston gives no hint.

His third fault is that he hardly discusses how Mahan's chief idea applies to the present and to the near future. He tells us that "not until political aggregations of men . . . cease to strive for power and their own advantage will Mahan's writings become obsolete," and that Mahan would have taken aviation seriously, thinking out what effect it would have not only on naval strategy but on the policies of the great powers. Yes, but why not follow this up? For instance, Mahan's ideas made the Kaiser drunk and led Germany to defeat—or rather, it was not Mahan but a falsely narrow conception of Mahanism, a crude vision of sea-power in terms of a big navy, regardless of geographical factors, that led Hohenzollern Germany astray. The same mistake led the British government to reach the height of the long-matured crisis over Czechoslovakia with a superb navy and an excellent force of bombers but with next to no defenses for London itself, although London is exceptionally vulnerable to attack from the air. Mahan himself was free from this error: when he saw and showed the immense, uncanny effect of sea-power on events, he did not mean by sea-power just navies. He "discussed the conditions affecting sea-power under six heads: (1) geographical position, (2) physical conformation, (3) extent of territory, (4) number of population, (5) character of the people, (6) character of the government." What is this but Hitlerism—power rather than just sea-power? In Hitler (this is one of the most important elements in "Mein Kampf") we are face to face with a man who has long and passionately studied the past mistakes of Germany, the causes of the defeat of 1917. He is resolved to avoid them, and this explains everything he does. And when he says that Germany's aim must be not any particular drive—to the west, to the east, or for colonies—but "a strengthening of Continental power," after which colonies too will come within reach, he is applying Mahan's conception of sea-power to something wider—to the full use of the most effective combination of all the means of power a particular country can muster. That is the fact we have to face. Even America has to find an answer to it. What a pity this life of Mahan, by a naval expert, does not go into this problem of Hitlerized Mahanism! JONATHAN GRIFFIN

The Destiny of Exile

ESCAPE TO LIFE. By Klaus and Erika Mann. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

IT IS a chatty and informal one, this book which the children of Thomas Mann, pursuing their illustrious father's calling, have written about the men and women who stood for German culture and have been forced to flee their country. Anecdotes about many of these conspicuous scholars, writers, musicians, and scientists—their number includes Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Stefan George, Einstein, Brüning, Freud, Lotte Lehmann, Elizabeth Bergner, Luise Rainer, Stefan and Arnold Zweig, Hindemith, Krenek, Remarque, and scores upon scores of others—and thumbnail sketches of their ideas and circumstances mainly compose the volume's substance. The authors' manner of exposition is very engaging. Their thought is bright and clear. And their entire performance is valuable not only for the reason that it enlarges our picture of the brave acts and characters of many wonderful persons, but also for the reason that it reminds us of the degree to which a certain false idea was instrumental in helping bring about the situation which has deprived the German people of the outstanding representatives of some of its highest values.

The authors bring this idea before us in the charming chapter they have devoted to their father. For it was once his and was expressed by him in "Reflections of an Unpolitical Mind," the volume written from 1914 to 1918 and incidentally inclusive of his sympathetic portrait of one of the main consequences and supreme props of the circumstances which have made war the national industry of Prussia—Frederick the Great. It is the idea that a lack of interest in politics not only is characteristic of Germans in contrast with Western democratic men but is an admirable trait and expressive of spiritual culture as contrasted with material civilization. It was shared by myriads of Germans: and in 1933 they were pretty thoroughly bedeviled by this attitude of political passivity. Now it is by no means a certainty that the abeyance of this unhappy idea would have insured German society against Hitler. Situations like the present one, in which the mental and spiritual growth of a people has been nipped, have occurred throughout history. Yet it is clear that an unwillingness to fight for human rights with political means invites disasters of the kind instanced by the present catastrophe. Mann himself, his children state, perceived its dangerousness before 1930. His brother, ever strongly attracted by French life and culture, had known it long. But it was impossible to change German habits overnight; and it is probably because the author of the "Reflections" has seen the consequences of its idea that he has recently been insisting with so much fire on the civic responsibilities of artists.

Meanwhile, "Escape to Life" arouses the question whether representatives of exiled German culture will be able to adjust themselves to their strange milieus sufficiently to discharge the duties the authors lay on them—of showing the world of what free civilized Germany is capable and spreading the truth about her. We cannot answer it; we merely can recall a thought of Gide's at the time Barrès was troubling France with his notion that to uproot men from their native soil was tantamount to sterilizing them. Gide did not agree;

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and one day while reading an article on the methods of transplanting pine trees, he smiled at something his mind had just perceived. He had come upon a sentence which ran, "These trees are perfectly capable of being transplanted, provided only their heads are well formed." We, also, take much comfort from it. PAUL ROSENFELD

"We Wanted to Sing"

WE SHALL LIVE AGAIN. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

THE story of Czechoslovakia should never be written in cold blood. The history of the sturdy Czechs is too noble and their betrayal too base to deserve an analytical approach. That is why, writing in white heat with his emotions on fire, Maurice Hindus has turned out a fine and impassioned tribute to the beauty and glory that was once Czechoslovakia.

In "We Shall Live Again" Mr. Hindus is the same master of episodic reporting that he was in "Humanity Uprooted" and "Red Bread." Between June and September, 1938, he visited countless homes and institutions throughout Czechoslovakia, the most fruitful experiment of Versailles. If time had allowed, Czechoslovakia would have become the Sweden of Central Europe. If Mr. Chamberlain had seriously wished to keep "Bolshevism" out of Europe, he would never have sabotaged the most eminently bourgeois country on the face of the earth. In all things the Czechs were a middle-of-the-road people. They recoiled instinctively "from extravagance of any kind in drink, in food, in dress, in emotion, in politics, in intellectual speculation." The Slovaks were volatile and emotional, and the Ruthenians were rugged mountaineers, but except for Father Hlinka's misplaced antipathies the differences between these brother Slavs could have been worked out. Unfortunately, the Czechs were only human in a world of self-acclaimed super-men. They made their mistakes in handling minorities, trifling mistakes compared with the rest of Europe. "Czechoslovakia," Mr. Hindus reminisces, "was no Switzerland. But then Switzerland had had five centuries in which to achieve inner unity, and the Czechoslovak Republic had been functioning for only twenty years."

The real crime of the Czechs was that they stood on the right side of morality but on the wrong side of history. As the *Lidovy Moviny* moaned after Munich, in "the most heartbreaking words penned by any Czechs before or after": "We wanted to sing with the angels, now we must howl with the wolves." How stupid of them to have faith in themselves, in their magnificent army, in their choice of friends! The country was brought to trial without a hearing and executed by the great powers because it lay on the main highway of power politics, athwart the path of the Teutonic steam-roller.

Until the very last Mr. Hindus believed that the Czechs would fight, no matter what the odds. Never were a people more conscious of their cause. As Berchtesgaden faded into Godesberg, the common people were literally crying for war, for the sole honor that remained for them—to die in battle. But then came Munich. Mr. Hindus stayed on for two months after the final betrayal, long enough to see the bitter disillusion that swept over the country, but also long enough to realize that the Czechs "will live again," no matter how many foreign tyrants rule by the Moldau. JULIAN BACH, JR.

"Every time she eat anything sweet they ached her pretty near to death. She went to the dentist and said, 'Clean 'em out, but put 'em aside somewhere and save 'em for me.' The dentist thought that was awful queer but he saved 'em for her, and she wrapped 'em up and took 'em home. She went in the kitchen, spread them teeth on a newspaper, and poured molasses all over 'em. She said to the teeth, 'Ache now, damn you, ache.'"
—*Woman mill worker.*

from THESE ARE OUR LIVES

421 pages
$2.00

The University of North Carolina Press • Chapel Hill, N. C.

Keeping Up with the Brookings

REORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. WHAT DOES IT INVOLVE? By Lewis Meriam and Laurence F. Schmeckebier. The Brookings Institution. $2.

PROPOSALS to reorganize the federal administration have been approved by Congress, and President Roosevelt has coordinated more than twenty lending, public-works, and "federal-security" agencies into three groups. Three other independent lending agencies go to the Department of Agriculture. The Budget Bureau, the National Resources Committee, and Central Statistical services will be directly under the White House. Congress has refused to do anything about the Comptroller General or to substitute a single official for the present Civil Service Commission, and a number of important federal agencies are removed from Presidential authority to coordinate and combine subject to Congressional disapproval.

These are the worth-while but meager results of the fight that began a year and a half ago. The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. Even this alarms the Brookings Institution. In the Middle Ages pilgrims journeyed to Compostela by taking two steps forward and one to the rear. The Brookings Institution, whose Institute for Government Research has published many studies showing how "to put the public administration upon a more efficient basis," has approached federal reorganization in the same way. Fifteen years ago W. F. Willoughby, then director of the institute, in a volume entitled "The Reorganization of the Administrative Branch of the National Government," argued the need for thoroughgoing changes and made a great many specific proposals in respect of regrouping and coordinating functions. In 1937, elaborate memoranda prepared by the Brookings Institution for Senator Byrd's committee argued vehemently against the leading proposals of President Roosevelt's Committee on Administrative Management but also held that "certain consolidations are needed," that "the number of independent establishments should be reduced," and that new departments

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of transportation and of public welfare might be desirable. Now, with assistance from their Brookings colleagues, Messrs. Meriam and Schmeckebier see little necessity of reorganization until after further study and consideration. They do not challenge the contention "that the Congress is in fact though not in law incapable of reorganizing the government." They oppose the granting of the necessary power to the Executive —a power which Presidents Wilson and Hoover had with certain limitations and which President Roosevelt possessed with no limitations at all during his first two years in office.

If the President had the power to reorganize by executive order, Congress could object by passing a bill. But, Messrs. Meriam and Schmeckebier point out, the President could veto such a bill, and if he "and his followers in Congress could marshal one vote over a third of the members present and voting in either one of the two houses," the President's will would prevail against a majority of the members of Congress. They give illustrations of "the possible uses that the President *might* make of power to curtail functions." He "would have authority to curtail or abolish" grants-in-aid for highways and vocational education. Veterans' benefits "likewise would be subject to curtailment or abolition by executive order." The President "could abolish the function of the Interstate Commerce Commission dealing with railroad rates." Thus the Brookings Institution echoes Mr. Gannett and Father Coughlin. But the authors make a constructive proposal: "Since American experience does not suggest that all merits are vested either in the President or in Congress, but rather that each has both merits and defects, the safest immediate procedure appears to be to observe the division of powers and not delegate unrestricted power to the President to curtail by executive order functions and activities now regulated by law." Instead, the staff of the Budget Bureau should be increased so that it can report to the President on structural modifications which he can recommend to Congress. Similarly, the staffs of certain Congressional committees should be enlarged so that information on administrative activities will be more readily available at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. As a result it will "be possible within a relatively short time, through ordinary processes of legislation, to bring about such change in structural organization as may be found desirable." This is really a proposal for no reorganization at all. The authors dismiss the alternative which Congress adopted—executive proposals subject to a veto by concurrent resolution—as being of doubtful constitutionality. So it is. But the point is unimportant in respect of the recent proposals, since Congress is giving formal approval by a joint resolution.

Messrs. Meriam and Schmeckebier fail to perceive that if Congress and the country wish to hold the President responsible for management, they must permit him a larger measure of freedom in determining the structure through which his managerial powers shall operate. Both France and Great Britain put upon their executives what, in comparison with the American system, is extraordinary responsibility for determining the kind of administrative machine they wish to direct. Thus, Poincaré could decide to have thirteen members in his 1926 Cabinet. Tardieu wanted thirty members. Mr. Chamberlain can create a ministry on air-raid precautions by charging his Lord Privy Seal with special tasks. In the United

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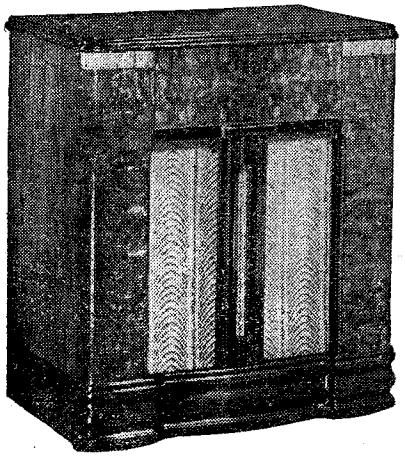

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States, Congress—and the present writers—fear the results of giving responsibility to the President. Despite the fact that three Presidents have had the power to coordinate and consolidate and did not misuse it, one must guard against a President losing his mind and abolishing "the function of the Interstate Commerce Commission dealing with railroad rates."

Representative government cannot be strengthened by insisting on eighteenth-century checks when the tasks of government differ not only in degree but in kind from the tasks of the eighteenth century. Liberty is preserved not by seeing things under the bed, or by withholding necessary power, or by dividing it into small fragments. Power must be granted and then measures must be taken to watch and tame it: through legislative control of the purse, through making Congress the grand inquest of the nation rather than a medley of pettifogging interests, and through a free press. Some day—may it not be too late!—Congress will realize that by holding on to the shadow it has been ignoring the substance.

LINDSAY ROGERS

Evolution in Medicine

AMERICAN MEDICINE MOBILIZES. By James Rorty. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MEDICAL SERVICES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA. By Paul A. Dodd and E. F. Penrose. Washington, D. C.: Graphic Arts Press. $3.75.

THE health of the American people is a national asset and can therefore at no time become the property of any one class or group, no matter how paternalistic or benign. Medical men have long sought to restrict the field of health entirely to themselves. In other words, they have decided that the consumer—the patient—shall have nothing to say as to the kind of goods that is delivered to him. Medical fiat, however, has not been able to suppress the public's interest in the nature and quality of the health service supplied. These two books are written around inquiries into different aspects of the medical problem. Mr. Rorty deals with the functioning of the medical group as a unit, and in particular with the organization known as the American Medical Association. The authors of the second book are economists, and they survey medical services with the same care and insight that they would use in investigating any other type of service or commodity. The two books therefore complement each other and should be in the hands of all those interested in the betterment of medical care and in the passage of Senator Wagner's health bill. The second book is likely to be of more use in providing factual data; but it contains so much material and so many tables that the layman may prefer to turn to Mr. Rorty's readable account.

Mr. Rorty starts his book with a description of the National Health Conference convened in Washington on July 8, 1938. It was easy to write about that conference, because it was making history, and the position taken by the A. M. A., as expressed by Drs. West and Fishbein, against Dr. Cabot was of the type that lends itself to journalism. It is indeed unfortunate that the attitude of two paid officials

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of an organization should thus be able to give the impression that all doctors are against the betterment of national health—which, of course, is not the case. Notwithstanding this personal opposition, the conference accomplished much and laid the groundwork for the present proposed health law.

By far the most interesting chapters are those dealing with the organization of the A. M. A. and its journal. Mr. Rorty points out Dr. Fishbein's virtual dictatorship over 119,000 medical men in the United States through his control of the lucrative *Journal* of the A. M. A., which in 1937 grossed $1,654,203.74. That, as Mr. Rorty notes, is well worth fighting for; but it is not the health of the American nation. He exposes the methods used by certain medical societies in defending their prerogatives, for example, the boycott of Borden products that led the Milbank Fund to cease its investigation into medical costs. He describes the rise of group practice and group hospitalization, and gives an account of the government's excellent and widespread attack on the problem of syphilis.

Messrs. Dodd and Penrose have made a thoroughgoing study of the availability and distribution of medical care in the state of California. I cannot begin to suggest the amount of evidence packed into these pages, but there are certain highlights that demand mention. One of the phrases often used by Dr. Fishbein has been the necessity for keeping, at all costs, the "doctor-patient relation." A recently published study, based on 300 families in a large city, has shown that such a relationship no longer exists. While this may not be true for rural areas, it does apply to our urban population. The reason for the disappearance of the family physician, and with him the "doctor-patient relation," is not far to seek. In a comparison of the incomes of general practitioners and specialists, 50 per cent of the general practitioners made about $2,500 a year, while 50 per cent of the specialists made $3,500. That $1,000 differential in favor of the specialties is all too obvious to young medical graduates about to enter practice.

In a summary at the end of the book the authors state that "families with low and moderate incomes actually pay relatively more (the latter twice as much) as do those with high incomes. . . . The general health facilities of California are unevenly distributed. . . . Thus the population's ability to gain access to the services of a medical practitioner appears to be greatest in the larger cities and smallest in rural territory. . . . The need for medical care at any given time is most prevalent among members in families of low incomes, and least so among those in families with high incomes. . . . Rural areas contain only a small proportion of those ill who are receiving adequate treatment. . . . The pre-natal services of public-health authorities are too closely restricted to 'indigent' mothers, and little provision is made for those who are not 'indigents' but who are unable to meet the high costs of private care." They end with this rather dismal picture: "If these are the facts regarding the needs, what of the receipt of service? Are these needs being met by existing facilities? Is it true that there is no problem today, since all who cannot pay for proper care receive it free of charge? The facts indicate that there is much to be desired, for many thousands who need attention are forced to go unaided. Over four out of every ten persons needing medical care do not

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Members, Feb., 1936

Many *Nation* readers will remember the first announcement in these pages of the formation of Consumers Union a little more than three years ago.

Because this month is the third anniversary of the first issue of *Consumers Union Reports*, because the third annual CU membership meeting is about to be held and the third annual edition of CU's *Buying Guide* is on the press, we take this occasion to report on CU's progress.

★

When its first advertisement appeared in these pages, CU had but 148 members, a staff of 10 people working for a uniform wage of $10 a week, and no funds beyond the fees and small contributions of these 148 members.

Today Consumers Union has over 80,000 members, a thriving West Coast branch, a staff of 50 people and more than 200 highly specialized technical consultants.

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To the great number of *Nation* readers whose support has helped to make this record possible, CU acknowledges its debt.

★

On June 1 in New York City's Town Hall, CU will hold its third annual membership meeting. Reports on CU's progress will be given, plans for the future discussed. Donald Ogden Stewart, humorist, will talk on "Advertising"; Dr. William M. Malisoff on "Science and the Consumer."

All CU members are urged to attend the meeting. Those joining CU at any time before the meeting are also welcome.

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have access to it. Furthermore, low incomes are predominant among families reporting the absence of adequate medical treatment."

The brilliant advertising publicist that generally speaks for the A. M. A. frequently states that there is no lack of medical care. But because of the very nature of his work a doctor is unable to pass an opinion on the demands outside his office. Doctors will rail at these two economists for intruding into their private domain; but the history of medicine shows that betterment has not originated entirely from within the ranks. It was Edwin Chadwick, lawyer and actuary, who in 1838 awoke the English public to the necessity of the first national health laws; and many more instances of the kind can be cited. It is inevitable that changes in medical organization, and especially in public health, should originate outside of the profession; for the doctor himself is so busy improving and applying his skill and knowledge that it is impossible for him to appreciate, other than in a dim way, the medical needs of a population that never reaches his office. It is lamentable that an organization headed by a non-practicing doctor should put men who have given of their very best in such a false position.

Advances in medical knowledge through the efforts of doctors, physicists, chemists, and biologists have frequently been misinterpreted by skilful publicity as advances in the availability of medical services. The technology of medicine is far ahead of its application.

There will be much conservative attack on the new health proposals, but the evidence for them is at hand regardless of what political-minded medicos or disgruntled ex-public-health officials have to say against them. The economic necessity for these changes is adequately presented in one of these books; the reason for the opposition of the American Medical Association is clearly defined in the other.

HUGH H. DARBY

RECORDS

THE success of a project like the Columbia History of Music depends on proper choice of musical illustrations and detailed correlation of this music with the text it illustrates; and in these respects the sloppily voluble Percy Scholes has done as bad a job with the fifth and concluding volume (eight ten-inch records with seventy-two-page booklet, $10), as with some of the earlier volumes. Thus, Scholes being English, the later romanticism is illustrated by Elgar, Bax, and Vaughan Williams, in addition to Strauss, Mahler, and, strangely, Falla—the more strangely since we read of Falla's "dryness," by which is meant an "avoidance of any nineteenth-century luscious romantic feeling"; and Scholes being Scholes, Strauss is represented only by the Intermezzo from "Le bourgeois gentilhomme," with nothing said about the later romanticism which it does not illustrate. And there is no exact location on records of details mentioned in the text. But the volume does offer recordings of two songs from Schönberg's "Das Buch der hängenden Gärten," two pieces from Bartok's "Mikrokosmos," a movement from Haba's Duo

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for two violins in the sixth-tone system, and one or two other such items.

On two little records ($1 each) Columbia offers Asiatic Russian folksongs sung by Lydia Chaliapine, which I have enjoyed more than the German folksongs arranged by Brahms, most of them heavily sentimental, that are recorded by Ernst Wolff in a two-record set ($3.25). The most attractive songs of this group are to be had superbly sung by Elena Gerhardt on Victor 7795.

The three familiar Haydn clavier sonatas issued by Timely (three records, $5) are delightful in the way Haydn's music is; but I must regret that Timely did not choose from the unfamiliar ones that are so remarkable. I must regret also its choice of Jacob Feuerring, whose piano performances are energetic but not subtle and often not clear—unless the drowning of the right hand by the left is a fault of the recording. On a single ($1.50) record he plays three fine Scarlatti sonatas; on another a charming sonata by Galuppi.

The boogie-woogie style, as it is used continuously by the boogie-woogie pianists themselves, I find monotonous and boring. It may be that the style is too limited, or that the pianists are; at any rate it is when a pianist of varied resources has worked the boogie-woogie style into a performance as a resource added to the others he commands, that the result has been interesting and even exciting. A superb example is the opening solo by Bob Zurke of Bob Crosby's Orchestra, aided by Ray Bauduc's brilliant drumming, in "Song of the Wanderer" (Decca). Another example, this one with the light-fingered playfulness that is characteristic of his style, is Count Basie's opening solo in "Baby, Don't Tell on Me" (Vocalion), which is followed by a characteristically delicate and plaintive solo on muted trumpet by Buck Clayton. But Basie's outstanding solo is the one in "If I Could Be With You" (Vocalion), in which there is no boogie-woogie, no playfulness—only extraordinary delicacy and subtlety, which continue in Clayton's solo and in Helen Humes's singing, until they are interrupted, with incredible lack of understanding and taste, by the blare of the full band.

Billy Kyle's piano style is the feature of Mildred Bailey's "I Can Read Between the Lines" (Vocalion); and its influence can be heard in the playing of the others in "Love's a Necessary Thing" on the reverse side—a better song, which Mildred sings well. Then there are the fine solos on muted trumpet that Frankie Newton contributes to "The Blues My Baby Gave to Me" (Bluebird); the delightful singing by Ella Fitzgerald in the Chick Webb "Chew Your Bubble Gum" (Decca). And among Commodore reissues I have enjoyed Jimmy Noone's "A Monday Date," particularly for the playing of Noone on clarinet and Earl Hines on piano; and the Billy Banks Rhythmakers' "I'd Do Anything for You" and "Mean Old Bedbug Blues," with Henry Allen on trumpet, Pee-Wee Russell on saxophone, and Fats Waller at the piano.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Manifesto

Dear Sirs: The following statement of the Committee for Cultural Freedom is of such intrinsic importance that we should like to see it published in *The Nation.* SIDNEY HOOK
New York, May 22

The tide of totalitarianism is rising throughout the world. It is washing away cultural and creative freedom along with all other expressions of independent human reason. Never before in modern times has the integrity of the writer, the artist, the scientist, and the scholar been threatened so seriously. The existence of this danger and the urgent need for common defensive action inspire the undersigned in issuing this statement.

Under varying labels and colors but with an unvarying hatred for the free mind, the totalitarian idea is already enthroned in Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, and Spain. There intellectual and creative independence is suppressed and punished as a form of treason. Art, science, and education have been forcibly turned into lackeys for a supreme state, a deified leader, and an official pseudo-philosophy.

The Nazis have proclaimed: "There can no longer be a single artist who creates otherwise than nationally and with a national purpose. Every artist who withdraws from this preoccupation must be hunted as an enemy of the nation until he gives up his intolerable resistance."

The words and acts of all other totalitarian regimes conform to this view. They apply it to the educator, the scientist, and the historian no less than to the artist. The results have been artistic sterility, an enslaved intellectual life, a tragic caricature of culture. Literally thousands of German, Italian, Russian, and other victims of cultural dictatorship have been silenced, imprisoned, tortured, or hounded into exile.

Triumphant in a large sector of the civilized world, the totalitarian idea is winning too dangerous an influence in many other countries. It threatens to overwhelm nations where the democratic way of life, with its cultural liberty, is still dominant. Even in the United States its beginnings are all too evident in the emergence of local political dictators, the violation of civil rights, the alarming spread of phobias, of hatred directed against racial, religious, and political minorities. Ominous shadows of war are gathering in our own land. Behind them lurk dangers not only to a free labor movement but to a free culture.

Through subsidized propaganda, through energetic agents, through political pressure, the totalitarian states succeed in infecting other countries with their false doctrines, in intimidating independent artists and scholars, and in spreading panic among the intellectuals. Already many of those who would be crippled or destroyed by totalitarianism are themselves yielding to panic. In fear or despair they hasten to exalt one brand of intellectual servitude over another; to make fine distinctions between various methods of humiliating the human spirit and outlawing intellectual integrity. Many of them have already declared a moratorium on reason and creative freedom. Instead of resisting and denouncing all attempts to strait-jacket the human mind, they glorify, under deceptive slogans and names, the color or the cut of one strait-jacket rather than another.

These are immediate and pervasive realities. Unless totalitarianism is combated wherever and in whatever form it manifests itself, it will spread in America. We, as writers, artists, and scholars, are deeply conscious of our responsibilities to our vocations. The circumstance that free culture, persecuted and proscribed in vast areas of Europe and Asia, seeks a refuge in America raises these responsibilities to the plane of pressing moral duty.

We therefore call for the formation of a Committee for Cultural Freedom, an organization independent of control, whether open or secret, by any political group, pledged to expose repression of intellectual freedom under whatever pretext, to defend individuals and groups victimized by totalitarian practices anywhere, to propagate courageously the ideal of untrammeled intellectual activity. This commits us as a group to no particular social philosophy —but only to one of the fundamental criteria for evaluating all social philosophies today: namely, whether it permits the thinker and the artist to function independently of political, religious, or racial dogmas. We have come together, and call upon others to join us, on the basis of the least common denominator of a civilized culture—the defense of creative and intellectual freedom.

LOUIS ADAMIC, VAN METER AMES, SHERWOOD ANDERSON, ROBERT O. BALLOU, ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES, W. H. BAUMGARDNER, ARTHUR F. BENTLEY, DAVID BERNSTEIN, GEORGE BOAS, BOYD H. BODE, S. L. BOOTHROYD, P. W. BRIDGMAN, PAUL F. BRISSENDEN, DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, ROBERT C. BROOKS, EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, E. A. BURTT, WITTER BYNNER, V. F. CALVERTON, W. B. CANNON, RUDOLF CARNAP, JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN L. CHILDS, L. S. COTTRELL, GEORGE S. COUNTS, PHILIP W. L. COX, COUNTEE CULLEN, MERLE CURTI, WALTER DAMROSCH, ELMER DAVIS, NED H. DEARBORN, BABETTE DEUTSCH, JOHN DEWEY, ARNOLD DRESDEN, MAX EASTMAN, IRWIN EDMAN, EDWIN R. EMBREE, ABRAHAM EPSTEIN, MORRIS L. ERNST, EDNA FERBER, HERBERT F. FRASER, ABRAM HARRIS, HERBERT E. HARRIS, GEORGE W. HARTMANN, HENRY HAZLITT, MILTON P. HERRMANN, PHILIP M. HICKS, JESSE H. HOLMES, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, SIDNEY HOOK, B. W. HUEBSCH, INEZ HAYNES IRWIN, JAMES W. IVY, HORACE M. KALLEN, WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK, SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE, GEORGE W. LEE, ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, ROBERT H. LOWIE, FERDINAND LUNDBERG, EUGENE LYONS, BENJAMIN C. MARSH, MILTON S. MAYER, NELSON P. MEAD, ERNEST L. MEYER, WESLEY C. MITCHELL, MARSTON MORSE, PHILIP E. MOSELY, DAVID S. MUZZEY, HENRY NEUMANN, JESSE H. NEWLON, H. A. OVERSTREET, WALTER PACH, SAUL K. PADOVER, JOHN DOS PASSOS, FREDERICK L. REDEFER, VICTOR RIESEL, JAMES RORTY, LEONARD Q. ROSS, MORRIE RYSKIND, J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, WILLI SCHLAMM, GEORGE S. SCHUYLER, JOHN SLOAN, JOSEPH HILTON SMYTH, CLARA G. STILLMAN, BENJAMIN STOLBERG, V. T. THAYER, NORMAN THOMAS, DOROTHY THOMPSON, FRANK N. TRAGER, HOWARD M. TRUEBLOOD, FREDERICK F. VAN DE WATER, M. R. WERNER, WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS, HELEN WOODWARD.

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Because of holiday no classified advertising will be taken after 10 o'clock, Monday, May 29.

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THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York City

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Wind-borne Rumor Denied

Dear Sirs: "In the Wind" in your issue of May 13 brings us the news that "a dispute is going on inside Consumers Union reminiscent of the Lawyers' Guild row; the Union's affiliation with the League for Peace and Democracy is one of the issues." The winds have carried many rumors about Consumers Union in the three years of its existence. I am happy to say that this is not true.

If you will remember that anyone can become a member of Consumers Union simply by subscribing to Consumers Union *Reports,* and that there are 80,000 members, you will realize that there must be differences of opinion within the membership. But these differences are of the kind that every publication with a clear editorial policy expects.

In so far as the League for Peace and Democracy is concerned, a long time back a meeting of our board voted unanimously to send delegates to the league. In the same way we have sent delegates to numerous organizations, congresses, and conferences. This has been directly in line with our clearly announced policy of cooperating with other organizations in the protection of the consumer's interests, which we believe includes the fight against fascism.

The action on the league has never once been questioned by any member of our Board of Directors. In recent weeks one very vocal member of the organization has raised the question of the league. He claims to represent others, but for some reason he has kept the names of the others a deep secret.

ARTHUR KALLET

New York, May 18

Alaska for the Refugees

Dear Sirs: The persecuted people of Europe are pleading for a life-line. Why not allow them to colonize in Alaska? Much is said about mass immigration upsetting our economic equilibrium, but if refugees established new towns in the wilderness they would offer no threat to unemployment. Moreover, thriving new colonies in Alaska would be of definite commercial and military advantage to the United States.

It will perhaps be objected that the newcomers, after a taste of the hardships of colonization, may want to leave and seek more congenial work in Chicago, New York, or Seattle. To meet that contingency the regulations governing their admission should require them to stay at least five years in the new community.

The government's recent colonizing project at Matanuska, Alaska, demonstrates the possibility of large-scale settlement in the territory. Properly developed, the country could support millions of refugees. Of course the immigrants would have to be financed. Funds would be needed, but they could be raised. At the outset we should be givers, but only at the outset.

ELMER GREENSFELDER

New York, May 17

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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